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ABSTRACT

This report examines the kinds of relationships which existed between black students and white students in the public high schools of Indianapolis, Indiana in the 1970-71 school year. Variations in race relations among schools and among individuals are related to. (1) students' experiences outside of high school--e.g., family, grade school, and neighborhood influences; (2) students' personal characteristics; (3) characteristics of the school and of the school situation; and (4) students' perceptions of, and feelings toward, schoolmates of another race. The study was conducted in 11 schools, composed of 12 school sites (the freshman class of one school was located separately from the rest of that school). These 12 school sites varied widely in racial composition, ranging from 1 percent to almost 100 percent black students. School sites also varied in a number of other important respects, including rapidity of change in racial proportions and distribution of students in the various academic programs. Following informal interviews with students, teachers, and administrators at each school site, questionnaires were administered to a sample of students of each race at each school. For all schools, a total of about 2,000 black students completed each part of a two-part questionnaire. (Author/JM)

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FINAL REPORT
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PATTERNS AND DETERMINANTS OF INTER-RACIAL INTERACTION IN THE INDIANAPOLIS PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
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Throughout this project we have been fortunate to work closely with two extremely able and conscientious gentlemen at Purdue: Gerhard Hofmann and William R. Brown. The initial planning of the study, the early interviewing, and the collection of questionnaire and other systematic data in the schools were collaborative efforts involving the four of us. The design of the questionnaire and plans for the processing of the data were done jointly by ourselves and Gerhard Hofmann. Mr. Hofmann also had direct supervision of the computer operations and performed much of the computer programming himself. The report was written by the senior investigators.

In recent months Jack Wilson has assumed increasing responsibilities for the computer programming. We appreciate the care and skill with which he has performed this work. We also wish to acknowledge with appreciation the help of many people within the Department of Sociology and Anthropology and its adjunct, the Institute for Study of Social Change. We are grateful to Leonard Z. Breen, Department Head, for his assistance in administration of the research grant; to Karen Collins, Mary Perigo, and Bonnie Wilkerson of the Department for efficient and friendly help with personnel and budget matters; to Professor Andy B. Anderson, director of the Institute, for providing the assistance of that organization at important times; to Denise Klein, whose good sense and great abilities helped us to keep things under control during the frantic periods of questionnaire construction and data collection; to Sue Simmons and Donna Bystrom for their cheerful and able assistance; to Barbara Budreau for her help in collating and proofreading portions of the final report; and to our work-study and other undergraduate students (by now too numerous to list) who helped us to code and process the data. The typing and reproduction of this report were done primarily by Jane Lindquist, with an important assist from Carol Muranaka; both did their work with unusual skill and good judgment.

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Of course, this study would not have been possible without the support of the National Institute of Education. We are particularly appreciative of the advice and the understanding of Monte Penney of the Institute.

M.P.
J.D.D.

SUMMARY

This report examines the kinds of relationships which existed between black students and white students in the public high schools of Indianapolis, Indiana in the 1970-71 school year. Variations in race relations among schools and among individuals are related to a) students' experiences outside of high school--e.g., family, grade school, and neighborhood influences; b) students' personal characteristics; c) characteristics of the school and of the school situation; and d) students' perceptions of, and feelings toward, schoolmates of another race.

The study was conducted in eleven schools, composed of twelve school sites (the freshman class of one school was located separately from the rest of that school). These twelve school sites varied widely in racial composition, ranging from 1 percent black students to almost one hundred percent black students. School sites also varied in a number of other important respects, including rapidity of change in racial proportions and distribution of students in the various academic programs.

Following informal interviews with students, teachers, and administrators at each school site, questionnaires were administered to a sample of students of each race at each school. For all schools, a total of about 2,000 black students and 2,300 white students completed each part of a two-part questionnaire. Data were also collected from administrators, from teachers, and from school records.

The data show that students of both races are likely to have varied experiences with other-race students--some positive and some negative. Most students had some friendly inter-racial contacts and substantial proportions had fairly close friendly contacts. However, large numbers of students of both races tried to avoid other-race students at times and sizable proportions of students, especially among Whites, reported various unfriendly contacts with students of

the other race. Overall, the net impact of inter-racial experiences on students of both races appears to be positive in most schools. A large majority of both races characterized their overall race relations in high school as "very friendly" or "fairly friendly." In every school site, black students tended to say that their opinions of white people had changed for the better, rather than for the worse, since coming to high school. Among white students, opinions of black people were also more likely to change for the better than for the worse in eight out of the eleven sites where Whites attended. In two schools, however, opinion change among white students was predominantly negative and in one school positive and negative opinion change among Whites was about equal.

Average differences among schools and differences among individual students, in the frequency of various types of inter-racial behavior (avoidance, friendly contact, and unfriendly behavior) were related to differences among students and across school situations. The data show, first, that more friendly inter-racial contacts in high school occurred among students who had greater contact with other-race people in grade school, neighborhood, and other community settings. Family racial attitudes also affect inter-racial behavior in high school but the positive effect of friendly inter-racial contacts outside high school remains even when family attitudes are held constant.

A number of characteristics of students also were associated with inter-racial behavior. Students of both races got along better with other-race schoolmates when they had less friction with students of their own race. Also, both black students and white students were likely to have more positive inter-racial contacts when they had more favorable opinions of other-race people prior to high school and when they held less ethnocentric racial beliefs. Friendly contacts between the races occurred more often, also, among students in upper classes of the school (i.e., from Freshman to Senior) and where students were most diligent and most involved in their academic careers. Black boys were somewhat more likely than black girls to have friendly contact with white schoolmates, but white boys were somewhat more likely than white girls to avoid black students.

A variety of aspects of the school situation were related to inter-racial behavior. The greater the percentage of black students in a school, the more friendly contacts were reported by white students and the less the negative behavior (avoidance, unfriendly actions) were reported by black students. Greater opportunity for inter-racial contact within the school also was related to more friendly contacts between the races. However, relatively rapid change in the racial composition of a school in the prior five-year period was associated with more frequent avoidance of black students by Whites.

In addition to opportunity for inter-racial contact within the school, a number of conditions of inter-racial contact were related to the kinds of race relations which occurred. More positive inter-racial contacts occurred when students reported that schoolmates and teachers of their own race gave more support to friendly relationships between the races. Friendly relationships between the races also were more frequent the more that students of each race saw other-race schoolmates as facilitating, rather than hindering, their own achievement of personally important goals, and as greater proportions of students cooperated in intra-racial groups concerned with improvements in the schools. In addition, more participation by students of both races in extra-curricular activities was associated with more friendly interaction between the races.

With respect to the similarity of the black and white segments of the student body, the data show, first, that greater average differences in socio-economic background (as indicated by parents' education) was associated with more positive race relations, but that greater differences in family structure (whether both parents are present) were associated with poorer race relations. Differences in the relative academic and non-academic status of black and white students in a school, as assessed objectively and as perceived by students, were not related consistently to inter-racial behavior. However, greater average differences between black and white students with respect to behavior and academic orientations in the school situation--e.g., in the amount of within-race fighting and in effort toward academic goals--were associated with more negative race relations. The relative power of the two racial groups within the school also was related to inter-racial behavior. In general, the more power that students of either race had (both as indicated by representation in student decision-making groups and as perceived by students), the more positively students of that race acted toward students of the other race. Perceptions of favoritism by school personnel toward either race, and of the strictness of school discipline, had little association with inter-racial behavior.

Finally, a number of types of student perceptions and emotions were related to their inter-racial behavior. As might be expected, friendly inter-racial contacts were more frequent among students who perceived a relatively large proportion of the other race as having favorable personal qualities. In addition, perceptions of other-race students as physically tough (especially by white students) and as good academically were associated with more positive race relations. Negative behavior toward other-race students was more frequent as students of each race became more angry toward, or more fearful of, the other race. Loyalty to the school was associated with less negative inter-racial behavior, especially among black students.

The results have implications for actions by the school system and other community groups who wish to improve race relations in the high schools. A number of such actions are suggested, including among others: 1) steps to provide greater opportunity for inter-racial contact in grade schools, neighborhoods, and other community settings; 2) programs to overcome lack of information or distorted information on racial matters and to provide students of each race with better understanding of the viewpoints of their other-race schoolmates; 3) actions to foster more inter-racial interaction within the school, under conditions where students of both races have common goals and feel an integral part of the school. Specific steps suggested for accomplishing these ends include the substantial racial integration of the school, providing students of both races with input into decision-making; facilitating wide participation by students of both races in extra-curricular activities; and enhancing opportunities for achievement in the school for students of varied backgrounds and interests.

PART I

INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH DESIGN

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Chapter 1. Introduction

The purpose of this document is to report the relationships among the major variables that were included in a recent study of race relations in the Indianapolis (Indiana) public high schools. The focus of the study was the amount and nature of interaction between black and white students in 12 school settings. Inter-racial interaction was viewed both as a consequence of some factors (e.g., experience with members of the other race in elementary school) and as a determinant of other phenomena (e.g., academic performance and career aspirations). In this report, we will present the major findings pertaining to the determinants of inter-racial contact in the schools. The findings concerning the consequences of inter-racial interaction will appear in a subsequent report.

The Problem and Objectives of the Study

A large number of America's black and white youth spend extended periods of time physically and socially separated from one another in their respective neighborhoods, churches, and social groups. Many black and white youth are also physically and socially separated in predominantly black and predominantly white high schools. However, many black and white youngsters experience their greatest physical proximity to one another in our nation's high schools, particularly in those schools which are located in major metropolitan areas. Three questions which arise from this fact are: (1) How much and in what ways do black and white students in racially mixed schools interact with one another? (2) What factors tend to produce the various amounts and types of interaction one is likely to find? and (3) What effects, if any, are different amounts and kinds of inter-racial interaction likely to have on the scholastic performance and career aspirations of black and white youngsters?

In response to the first question, much of the research evidence, as well as more informal evidence from sources such as newspaper articles, has indicated that physical proximity does not necessarily produce social interaction across racial lines.[1] Racial isolation and cross-racial avoidance appear to be common, even in schools where the races are virtually equal in number. Self-segregation in lunchrooms and auditoria, for example, has become a symbol of this isolation and a matter of concern to many educators. Yet the evidence also indicates that cross-racial contacts do occur in racially mixed school settings. Some of these contacts are completely "natural" and voluntary, while other contacts are fostered by mechanisms that tend to increase the opportunities for inter-racial interaction (e.g., the use of alphabetical seating assignments in classes).

The kinds of cross-racial contacts that have been reported range from the most harmonious and intimate (e.g., dating and parties) to the most violent and injurious (e.g., knifings and gang warfare). Between these obvious extremes are somewhat less visible, but no less important, behaviors such as extortion, casual hallway conversations, name-calling, inter-racial "team" projects, fights, studying together, and theft. In short, the picture is one of variations extending from very positive to very negative interactions across racial lines.

However, some doubts remain about the prevalence of certain behaviors and the accuracy of the observations and reports that have been made about them. Newspapers, radio, and television have been accused of reporting only the most violent incidents and, thereby, creating an excessively negative profile of the high school racial scene. School officials also have been accused of paying attention only to the most dramatic incidents and, thereby, underestimating the actual number of more subtle problems among students. Teachers have been accused, on the one hand, of being "blind" to certain kinds of problems and, on the other hand, of being inordinately concerned about other problems. Parents have been accused of being too "conservative," emotional, and inclined to over-react to the slightest incident their children report. Students have been accused of telling their parents only about the "bad" things that happen at school. Consequently, it is difficult to say with confidence how much friendly and unfriendly inter-racial contact goes on in various school settings. How often do black and white students talk about their school work together? How much inter-racial extortion goes on? How often do black and white students date one another? How many students have been called bad names by students of the other race? How many students have been involved in a fight with students of the other race? These are some of the questions we have tried to deal with in an effort to determine as best we can the amount and nature of the inter-racial interaction that goes on in the Indianapolis public high schools.

In response to the question about the possible determinants of the various patterns of inter-racial interaction we have mentioned, several observations can be made. First, this line of inquiry seems necessary if we are to determine why avoidance and isolation typify the inter-racial scene in some schools, while at other schools black and white students interact freely with one another. Knowledge of the determinants of inter-racial interaction also will help to explain why some of those cross-racial contacts which do occur are friendly, while other contacts are quite unfriendly.

Second, any number of specific factors could be suggested as possible determinants, and many already have been proposed in the popular and scientific literature. Some of the factors which are thought to be relevant deal with students as individuals (e.g., their perceptions of and and personal feelings about other-race students). Other conditions have more to do with students' family backgrounds (e.g., the educational and occupational status of their families). Still other factors pertain to experiences students have had with members of the other race in settings such as the neighborhood, the elementary school, or on the job. Finally, some conditions are associated with the high school setting itself (e.g., the racial composition). The list of possible determinants is nearly endless and need not be elaborated here.[2]

Third, some of the determinants mentioned above have been shown to exert some influence on inter-racial interaction; other factors have not been researched so systematically. Most important, the evidence concerning the relative importance of these various factors is very limited.

It was within this context that we set out to study a variety of factors which might affect interaction, using a conceptual model that allows us to assess the relative importance of both the specific predictors and each set of predictors. For example, which has more to do with students' inter-racial interaction in high school--their families' racial attitudes or their experiences with other-race students prior to high school? How much of a role do school-related factors play in comparison to nonschool factors? Answers to such questions are important to researchers who wish to know more about those forces which make people in various groups behave as they do. The answers also are very important to those people who are concerned about the inter-racial experiences young people have in the high schools of this country.

Turning to the third question, having to do with the consequences of inter-racial interaction, the evidence is somewhat more uniform, but still inadequate in many respects. By and large, the literature on desegregated schools indicates that (1) black students tend to benefit academically from those integrated schools in which a majority of the students are white, and (2) the presence of black students in a school does not negatively affect the academic performance of white students. Previous research also has shown rather consistently that racial integration affects students' educational and occupational aspirations. Once again, a variety of factors have been advanced as possible explanations for these effects (e.g., family backgrounds of the students; social class composition of the school; racial composition of the school's teaching staff). Some writers also have suggested that students' feelings of being accepted by their peers and being a part of the school may be important links between the racial composition of a school and the effects racial integration is thought to have. However, little evidence has been put forth that would allow very many conclusions about the effects specific types of inter-racial interaction can have on the effort students put into their school work, the grades they earn in school, and their aspirations for the future. One of the aims of this study has been to learn more about the nature of these relationships.

Overview of the Report

In the remaining chapters of this part we will discuss the research design that was employed in the study and provide some background data on the schools. Among the matters which will be discussed in Chapter 2 are the theoretical model that was used; the selection and characteristics of the research site; instrumentation; and sampling and data collection procedures. Chapter 3 will provide some more detailed data about the particular schools in the study. The data which will be included in the school profiles will have to do with matters such as the racial composition of the schools since 1965; the racial composition of each school's teaching staff; and the number of reported "incidents" which occurred in each school during the 1970-71 academic year.

Part II will deal with the determinants of inter-racial interaction among the students. In Chapter 4 of Part II we will summarize the evidence concerning various amounts and types of inter-racial interaction in each school and for the total sample. But, the focus of our attention in this part of the report will be the relationships between inter-racial interaction and factors in the first eight cells of the model employed in this research. Variables in the cells deal with matters such as students' family backgrounds; neighborhood and elementary school experiences with the other race; the opportunities for and conditions of contact in the high school setting; student perceptions of one another; and student feelings such as anger and fear. Chapter 5 of Part II will consider race relations at the level of the total school. Average levels of inter-racial avoidance, friendly behavior, and unfriendly behavior at the schools will be related to characteristics of the total school or total student body.

In Chapter 6 of Part II, we will try to account for variations in the race relations experienced by individual students. With our large sample of individuals, we will be able to make use of statistical techniques which permit us to determine the effects of each possible predictor of race relations, when other predictors are held constant.

Chapter 7 presents the main conclusions and implications of the data presented in this report. We believe these conclusions and implications should be of interest to educators and other concerned citizens who are in a position to affect school policies and practices bearing upon the inter-racial and educational experiences young people have in public high schools such as those in Indianapolis.

The reader should be aware that this is only the first in a series of reports on the data we have been able to collect. As we will point out in the next section of this report, we were able to gather much more data from school administrators, teachers, and students than we had planned on gathering. All these data could not possibly be tabulated and synthesized within the limits of the time and money available under the present grant. Therefore, we have had to focus on those data from school officials and students which would allow us to fulfill most completely our contractual obligations to the U.S. Office of Education. Additional analyses of the data are being conducted under grant PRF 6919-50-1365 from the National Science Foundation.

Chapter 2. Research Design

In this section we will deal with the research design employed in this study. First, we will discuss briefly the conceptual framework or model that was used. Second, we will describe the selection of the research site and some key characteristics of the schools. Third, we shall discuss the various instruments that were developed to secure data from school administrators, teachers, and students. Finally, we shall describe the sampling and data collection procedures that were employed.

The Model

The model in Figure 1 was designed to order the many specific variables we wished to include in the study. Each cell in the model encompasses a set of potentially important variables. Let us consider next the main variables within each of the cells of the model.

Inter-racial Interaction

Cell 9 must be considered the center of the model. It encompasses the various kinds of inter-racial contacts that were discussed earlier. In this report, we will focus our attention on avoidance behaviors and on friendly and unfriendly inter-racial contacts.

Avoidance behaviors are efforts which members of one race make to minimize contact with members of the other race. For example, students may decide rather consciously not to attend a school event because they believe members of the other racial group are likely to be in attendance. On a less dramatic, but perhaps more common level, students may choose not to sit near members of the other group in class or study hall.

Friendly inter-racial contacts include those behaviors which tend to be pleasant or satisfying to the parties involved. For example, students may engage in friendly conversations having to do with their school work. Or, they may interact somewhat more intimately by doing things together outside of school. Perhaps the behavior that is thought to be most personal and friendly is dating on an inter-racial basis.

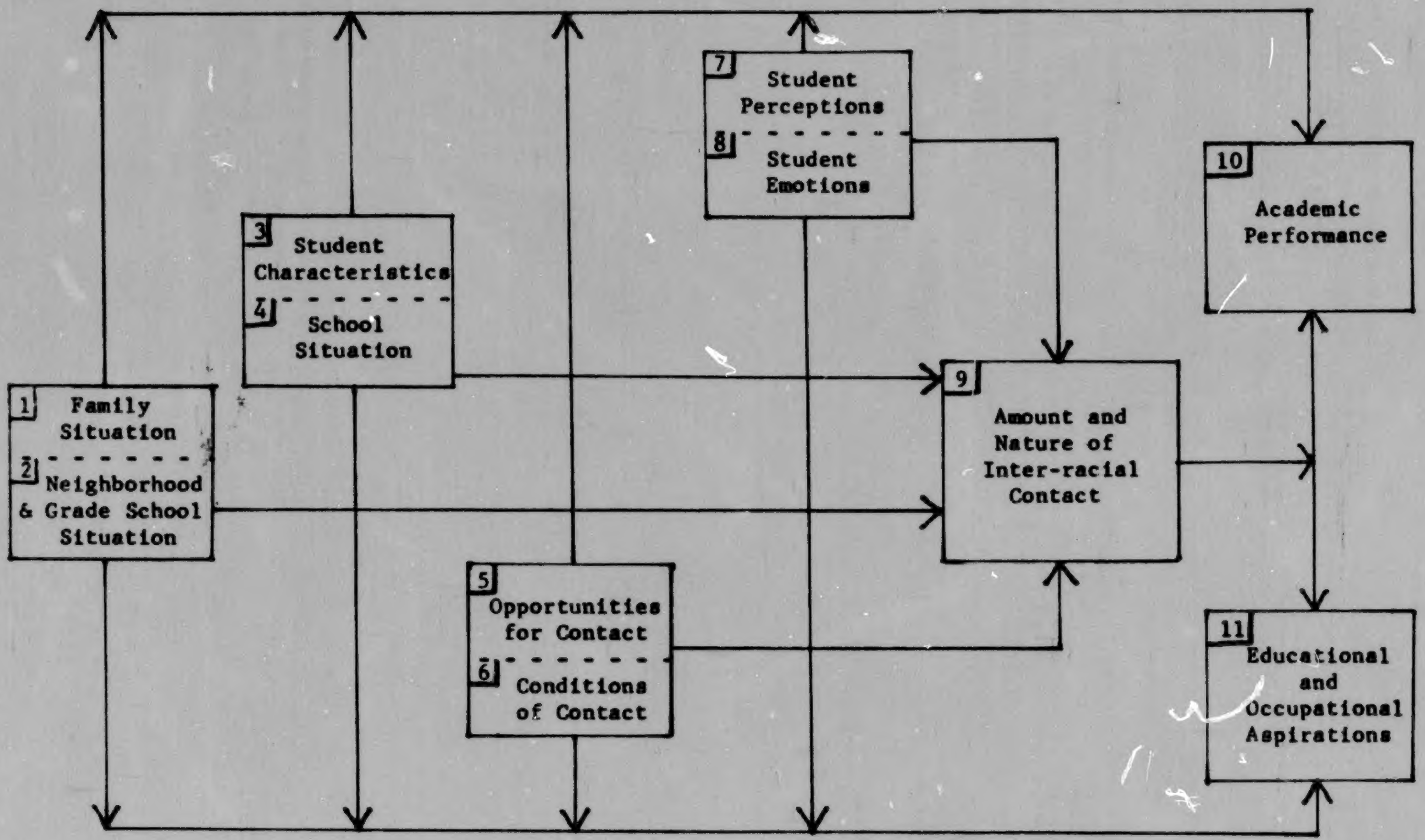

1 Family Situation
2 Neighborhood & Grade School Situation
3 Student Characteristics
4 School Situation
5 Opportunities for Contact
6 Conditions of Contact
7 Student Perceptions
8 Student Emotions
9 Amount and Nature of Inter-racial Contact
10 Academic Performance
11 Educational and Occupational Aspirations

FIGURE 1. A SCHEMATIC OVERVIEW OF THE MAIN SETS OF VARIABLES AND THE MAJOR RELATIONSHIPS TO BE STUDIED

Unfriendly inter-racial contacts are those which manifest hostilities at the inter-personal or inter-group levels. Among the behaviors that can be considered unfriendly are name-calling, extortion, and fighting.

The data presented in Part II (Chapter 4) provide some indication of the extent to which these various types of behavior tended to occur in the schools we studied.

Determinants of Inter-Racial Interaction.

Boxes 1 through 8 in Figure 1 encompass the eight sets of variables we have treated as determinants of inter-racial interaction. Each of these cells was assumed to have at least some direct effects on inter-racial interaction in the schools. These direct effects are indicated by the various arrows in Figure 1.[2] Also, we have arranged the cells from left to right according to their presumed immediacy to any interaction among students. For example, students' perceptions of other-race students at school (Cell 7) are more immediate to school interactions than are either their family backgrounds or their childhood experiences with the other race in their neighborhoods.[3] Let us turn, now, to the kinds of variables that were included in each cell of the model.

Home Situation. Cell 1 of the model encompasses several home factors which seem to have important effects on students' attitudes and behaviors (Deutsch and Brown, 1964; Coleman et.al., 1966; Sewell and Shah, 1968; Billingsley, 1969; Bachman, 1970; Hauser, 1971; and Mosteller and Moynihan, 1972). Some aspects of the home situation we shall examine are the structure of the students' families (including the number of children and adults living with the student); the educational status of the students' families; and the adults' feelings about the students' interactions with other-race people as well as about their academic performance and their aspirations.

Neighborhood and Grade School Experiences. We also wanted to learn more about the ways in which students' experiences in their neighborhoods and grade schools might affect their inter-racial experiences in high school. The racial composition of both the neighborhood and the grade school are relevant factors here. Also relevant are the types of inter-racial contacts students might have had in their neighborhoods and grade schools. Evidence suggesting the impact of such past experiences on current attitudes and behavior can be found in Deutsch and Collins (1951); Winder (1952); Works (1961); St. John (1963); Sewell and Armer (1966); Turner (1966); Wilson (1959); and Veroff and Peele (1969).

Student Characteristics. There is little doubt that many of the more personal characteristics which students "bring with them" to school will have at least some effect on their behavior (c.f., Coleman et.al., 1966; Bowles and Levin, 1968; and Mosteller and Moynihan, 1972). However, it is not clear which of these more personal variables exert the most influence; nor is it clear whether the same personal qualities which affect inter-racial interaction also affect school performance or aspirations. Therefore, we included a number of student characteristics in Cell 3 of our model. Some of these qualities are more physical and "ascribed" (e.g., age, sex), while others are more social and acquired. The acquired qualities, in turn, were divided into types: social psychological qualities such as (dis)satisfaction with one's family life and one's chances "to be somebody" later in life; and social characteristics such as activity in school as well as in nonschool clubs. The relationships we find between these variables and our dependent variables should increase our understanding of which student qualities are most conducive to positive patterns of interaction, performance, and aspiration.

School Situation. Several writers have indicated that characteristics of the general school situation exert an influence on students' relationships with one another, their performance in school, and their aspirations (e.g., Eddy, 1967; McDill, Meyers and Rigsby, 1967; and Dyer, 1968). Other writers, however, have reported that, compared to factors more closely linked to the students, school variables have relatively little impact on student interactions, performance, and aspirations (e.g., Coleman et.al., 1966; Armor, 1972; Jencks, 1972). To examine this matter, we included a number of school situation variables in Cell 4 of our model. Among the many factors we included were the following: the historical and current racial compositions of the schools; the adequacy of their educational facilities; the schools' policies concerning suspension and expulsion; the faculty-student ratio; and the mechanisms for student input into decisions that affect their lives at school.[4] The findings we derive using these variables will allow us to determine the relative importance of these contextual or school-level variables vis-a-vis students' inter-racial interaction, academic performance, and aspirations.

Opportunities for Contact. We also wanted to learn the extent to which the amount and nature of inter-racial contact is a function of the opportunities for contact in the school setting. The amount of opportunity for cross-racial contact in school settings such as classrooms, cafeterias, and extra-curricular activities depends on a variety of factors including the racial composition of the schools' student enrollments, the distribution of black and white students in the various school programs (e.g., college preparatory vs. general), and the racial composition of the faculty. Our findings concerning the relative importance of the opportunity for contact will be added to the observations made by Hicherson (1966), Eddy (1967), and Smith (1969).

Conditions of Contact. Cell 6 in the model includes six variables pertaining to rather immediate circumstances that are likely to enter into, and probably affect, any interaction between black and white students. Some of the data pertaining to these conditions are "objective"; in other cases, the data involve student perceptions of these conditions. First, the relative status of black and white students is likely to affect the ways in which they get along with one another. The status of each group, and any individuals within each group, can be thought of as academic, nonacademic, and socio-economic. Second, the extent to which black and white students control resources for influencing each other's behavior (i.e., their relative power) must be considered a condition of interaction. Among the factors which may indicate relative power in a school are the racial proportions among those students who occupy elected or appointed offices (e.g., Student Council). A third condition of contact is the degree of similarity between black and white students. To the extent that black and white students have similar values, norms, tastes, and aspirations, their chances of entering into friendly interaction should be increased. A fourth condition concerns the cooperative or competitive nature of the goals related to black and white students' behaviors. In the high school, certain conditions (e.g., competition for grades, competition for positions on teams) may create conflicts of goals, while certain other circumstances (e.g., alliances of Blacks and Whites against administrators, being on the same teams or committees) may create common goals. Fifth, the nature of relations between black and white students can be seen as a function of mechanisms for inter-racial communication and the resolution of inter-racial grievances. Harmonious relations between groups should be more likely when these mechanisms exist than when they do not exist. Finally, black and white students should be affected by the normative pressures exerted upon them by their peers, family, and teachers. Black and white students, we expect, will get along more favorably when the pressures they experience call for friendly interaction. The literature suggesting the possible importance of these various conditions in our study includes Schlesinger (1955); Wilner et.al. (1955); Heider (1958); Loomis (1959); Newcomb (1961); Hamblin (1962); Galtung (1965); Rokeach and Mezei (1966); Blalock (1967); Steele and Tedeschi (1967); Amir (1969); Byrne (1969); Davis (1969); and Pettigrew (1969).

Student Perceptions. Cell 7 of the model includes student perceptions of their own race, and of the other race. These perceptions should have at least some impact on students' behaviors, but the existing literature provides little solid evidence concerning their relative influence on inter-racial interaction and academic performance. In considering perceptions which students of each race have of the other race, we have followed the work of Osgood and his associates (1957) by distinguishing an evaluative dimension and a potency dimension (both physical and intellectual potency).

Student Emotions. Cell 8 pertains to those emotions which students have at any point in time. We have focused especially on three kinds of student emotions. One type of emotion is fear, particularly fears that students may have of the other race. A second emotion is anger--again, especially anger at the other race. Third, we shall consider students' feelings of loyalty to their school as a whole. Evidence of the importance of emotions in affecting interpersonal relations can be gleaned from the work of Kardiner and Ovesey (1951); Mandler (1962); and Grier and Cobbs (1969).

Consequences of Inter-racial Interaction

Two of the most important consequences of inter-racial interaction have to do with students' performance in school and their aspirations for the future.

While there have been studies which report different results (e.g., Day, 1962), the research literature on desegregated schools tends to indicate that (1) "the experience of integration generally facilitates educational development among Negro students when the integrated white students' group is very much the majority," and (2) there is "no reason to believe that white student achievement suffers under integration" (O'Reilly, 1970: 256-257).

Although these observations suggest general patterns pertaining to the effects of schools' racial integration on student performance, they also suggest that these effects are not uniform. Rather, the effects of racial integration seem to be modified by such variables as the socio-economic status of the student body and the ratio of black to white students. Another factor which has been suggested as a possible intervening variable is the extent to which students feel accepted by other-race students and the number of close other-race friends they have (Coleman et.al., 1966; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967; Cohen, Pettigrew, and Riley, 1972).

While the racial ratio and socio-economic status factors also have entered into our analyses of school performance, the suggestion that inter-racial acceptance and interaction may influence school performance is the focus of our attention. Since our instruments provide information on several types of inter-racial contact not systematically examined in Coleman's work or in other related studies, we are able to provide important additional evidence concerning the relation of inter-racial contact to performance. We expect that, in general, the greater the amount of friendly contact between black and white students, the greater the positive influences will be on performance (especially that of black students). Conversely, we would expect that the greater the amount of unfriendly contact, the greater the negative influence will be on performance.

Finally, previous research (e.g., Wilson, 1959; Michael, 1961; Coleman, et. al., 1966; and Nelson, 1972) has suggested that the socio-economic status and racial composition of a high school's student body also exert a marked influence on the student's college aspirations. Once again, however, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights' re-analysis of Coleman's data suggested that inter-racial acceptance may be an important intervening variable whose effects on aspirations require more research. As indicated above, evidence concerning the relationships between inter-racial contact and students' educational and occupational aspirations will be presented in a second report which will be a companion to the present report.

The Research Site and Characteristics of the Schools

In planning the study, we sought a research site that would have several characteristics considered necessary for this type of research. First, since over 70 percent of America's population now lives in urban areas, we hoped to find an urban community that would have many of the socio-economic characteristics of most American cities. Secondly, we hoped to find an urban community that had a number of public high schools with varying racial compositions. Third, we hoped to find a community whose school system (e.g., its superintendent and principals) would be sympathetic with this kind of research and who would cooperate with the researchers. Finally, we hoped to find a community that was close to Purdue University. After consideration of several possible communities, the researchers concluded that Indianapolis, Indiana came the closest to meeting all of the above criteria.

In 1970, the metropolitan area of Indianapolis (Marion County) had a population of about 800,000 people (see Table 2-1). In the central portion of the city (Center Township), 61 percent of the population was white and 39 percent was black. Moreover, the white population was leaving the central city area as the black population increased (see Figures 2 and 3). These circumstances were typical of most cities the size of Indianapolis.

Table 2-1

Population and Racial Composition of Indianapolis Metropolitan Area (Marion County) and the Inner-City Area (Center Township): 1950 through 1970*

	1950	1960	1970
Marion County			
Total population	551,777	697,567	792,299
Percent white	88	86	83
Percent non-white	12	14	17
Center Township			
Total population	337,211	333,351	273,598
Percent white	82	73	61
Percent non-white	18	27	39

*SOURCE: Documents based on U.S. Census data and prepared by Indianapolis Community Services Council.

Indianapolis had eleven public high schools. These schools ranged in their racial composition from over 99 percent black to 99 percent white (see Table 2-2). Between these limits there were schools

Table 2-2

Racial Composition of High Schools Included in the Study
(September 1970 Data)

High School No.[a]	Total Enrollment	Percent Non-White	Percent White
1	2,550	1.1	98.9
2	1,865	8.7	91.3
3	2,705	13.6	86.4
4	2,452	13.9	86.1
5	2,676	26.6	73.4
6	1,965	35.5	64.5
7	2,033	36.9	63.1
8	1,533	36.9	63.1
9	4,952	53.0	47.0
10[c]	306	53.3	46.7
11	1,709	71.2	28.8
12[c]	1,383	99.8	.2

[a] The schools have names, of course, but we have numbered them in this table and throughout this report according to their racial composition.

[b] The official school reports from which these data were drawn distinguish between "white" and "non-white." While the non-white category includes some people who are other than black (for example, Oriental), such non-black people are extremely uncommon in these schools. Therefore, the term black can be used interchangeably with non-white.

[c] School 10 was comprised of only the freshmen who otherwise would have attended School 12. School 12, then, was comprised of only sophomores, juniors, and seniors. The Indianapolis Public School System and many Indianapolis citizens considered these two campuses as one school. However, because of their geographic separation, their radically different racial compositions, and other conditions which will become apparent in later sections of this report, we have treated the two campuses as two different schools.

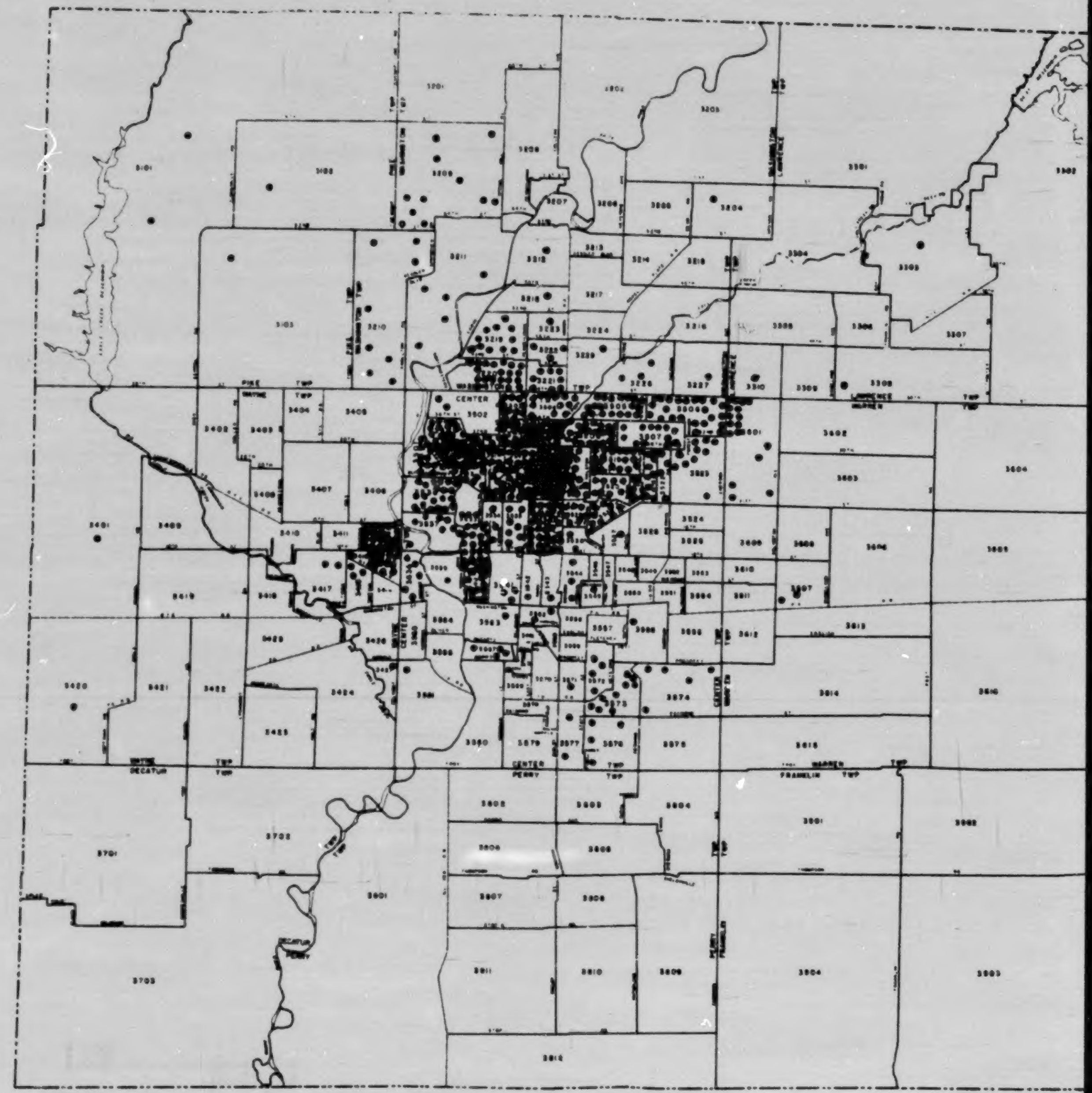
of virtually every possible racial composition. (Figure 4 indicates the location of each school within Marion County). These circumstances provided us with an excellent opportunity to investigate race relations under a variety of conditions related to racial composition.

Officials of Indianapolis Public School System expressed real interest in the study at our first contact with them. This interest was translated into genuine cooperation at every stage as the project began to unfold. The degree of cooperation we received seems to be almost unique when compared to the difficulties many researchers have had gaining access to urban school systems (Chadwick, Bahr, and Day, 1970). Moreover, this interest and cooperation played a vital role in the collection of data which we believe are of unusually high quality.

Finally, Indianapolis is only 60 miles from Purdue and, therefore, could be reached at any time with little difficulty.

Instrument Construction

In the fall of 1970, after discussions with the Superintendent and his staff, the researchers contacted the principals at each of the twelve research sites. Discussions with the principals centered on the over-all design of the study and our need to conduct some preliminary interviews with students and teachers. It was arranged that we would conduct interviews with five black students, five white students, two black teachers, two white teachers, and the principal in each school. This format was used, with minor variations, in all schools. In all, about 170 extensive interviews were conducted by both black and white interviewers during this period. These interviews were designed to provide several types of information, including the students' and teachers' experiences concerning inter-racial interaction in each school, perceptions by students of each race concerning other-race students, and the nature of the academic and extra-curricular programs in each school.

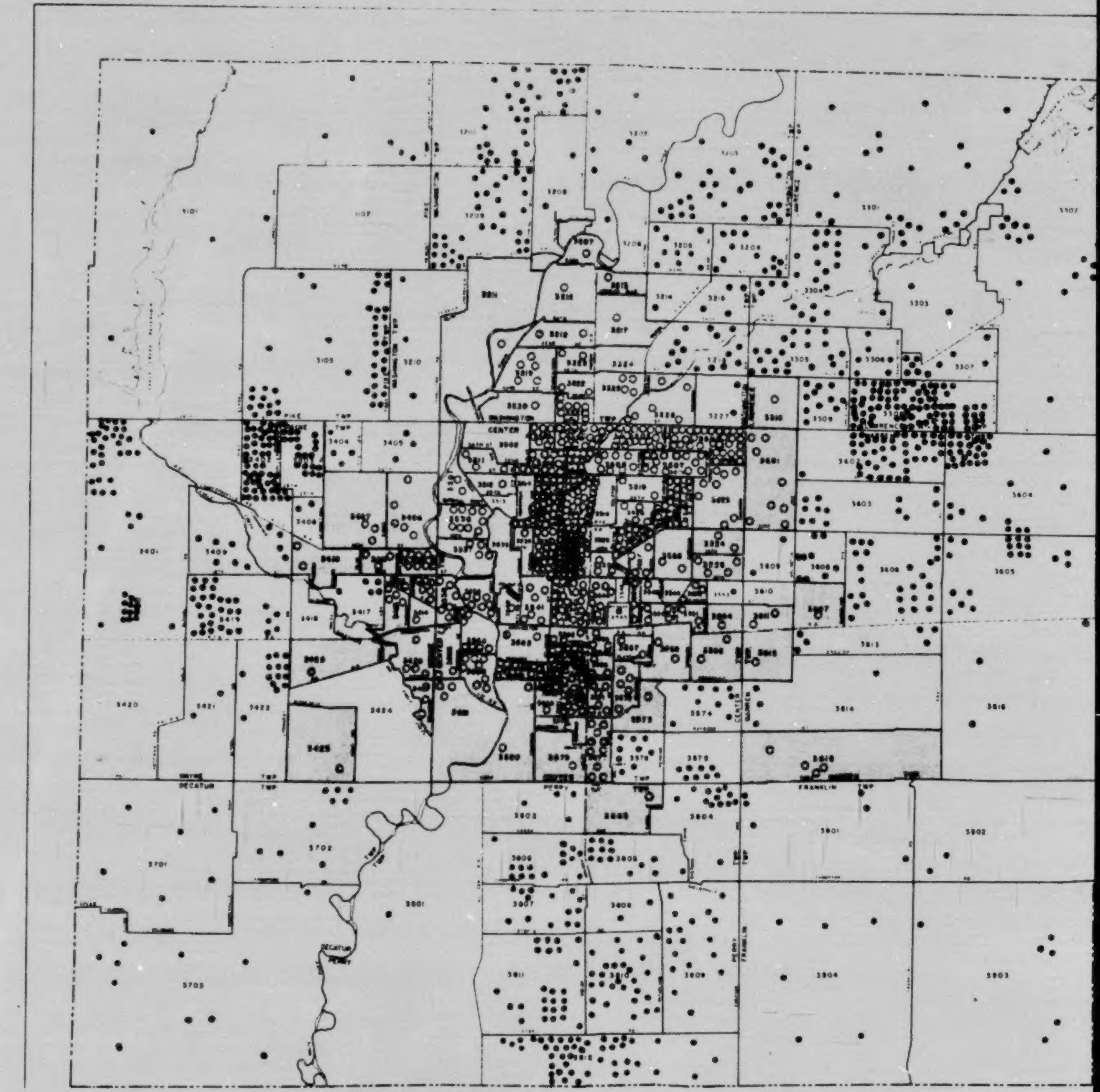

PIKE TWP
WAYNE TWP
CENTER
DECATUR TWP
CENTER
PERRY
FRANKLIN TWP
WARREN
LAWRENCE

NEGRO POPULATION DISTRIBUTION
BY CENSUS TRACT
MARION COUNTY, 1970

RESEARCH DEPARTMENT
COMMUNITY SERVICE COUNCIL
OF METROPOLITAN INDIANPOLIS
SOURCE: 1970 CENSUS

• =APPROX. 200 PERSONS

Figure 2

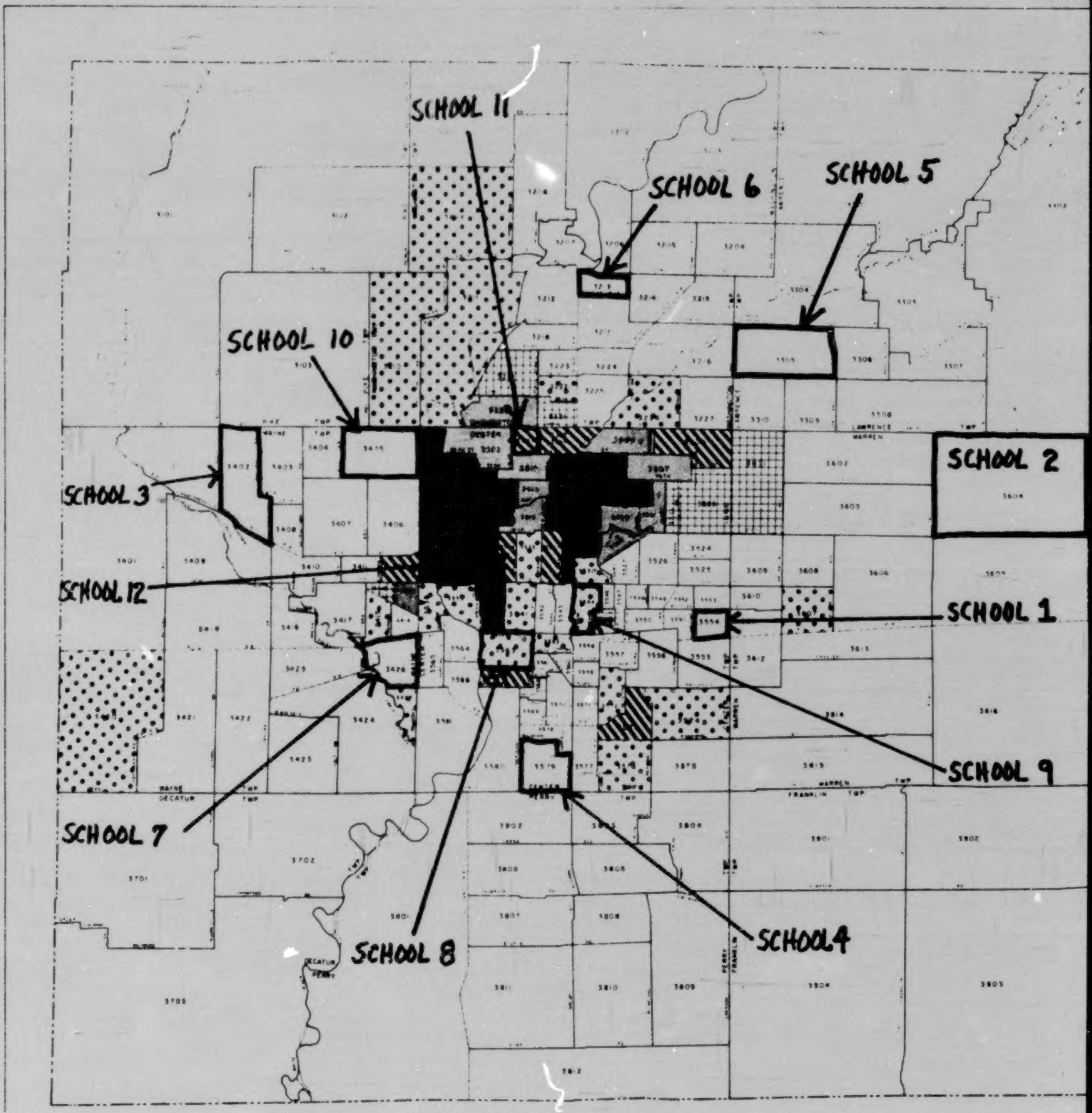


WHITE POPULATION CHANGE 1960-1970, BY CENSUS TRACTS, MARION COUNTY

RESEARCH DEPARTMENT
COMMUNITY SERVICE COUNCIL
OF METROPOLITAN INDIANAPOLIS
SOURCE: 1970 CENSUS

KEY:
- ● APPROX: 150 PERSON INCREASE
- ○ APPROX: 150 PERSON DECREASE

Figure 3


SCHOOL 11
SCHOOL 6
SCHOOL 5
SCHOOL 10
SCHOOL 2
SCHOOL 3
SCHOOL 12
SCHOOL 1
SCHOOL 9
SCHOOL 7
SCHOOL 8
SCHOOL 4

NEGROES AS PERCENT OF TOTAL POPULATION BY CENSUS TRACT MARION COUNTY 1970

KEY:
- ☐ 0%-9.9%
- ⚀ 10%-29.9%
- ▦ 30%-49.9%
- ▧ 50%-69.9%
- ▩ 70%-89.9%
- ■ 90%-AND O

RESEARCH DEPARTMENT
COMMUNITY SERVICE COUNCIL
OF METROPOLITAN INDIANAPOLIS
SOURCE: 1970 CENSUS

Figure 4

The information gathered through these interviews became the basis for extended discussion among the investigators concerning (1) the ways in which we could conceptualize the interview data and (2) the ways in which we could operationalize key variables in order to study them by questionnaire in the spring of 1971. Specification of all variables to be included in each part of the model and decisions about methods of operationalizing these variables were the major tasks of mid-November 1970 through mid-January 1971. It was during this time that the conceptual model presented in Figure 1 emerged.

It became apparent during these discussions that, in order to measure all of the relevant variables in the model, we would have to develop three instruments: one for students, one for teachers, and one for members of the administrative staff in each school. Each of these groups was seen as an appropriate source for certain kinds of information that the other groups could not provide. Because the data from the teacher questionnaire could not be included in this report, we will focus our attention on the construction of the student and administration questionnaires.[5]

A first draft of the student questionnaire was completed by the end of February, 1971. This draft then was reviewed by a group of black and white high school students in East Chicago, Indiana. These students--who differed in reading ability, year in school, and grade point average--spent an entire day pointing out those instructions which were difficult to follow, the items which were unclear, and the items which seemed to be most meaningful and least meaningful to them. In addition to identifying problems in the instrument, the students recommended changes in format and language. All of the students' observations and recommendations were evaluated carefully and many of them resulted in substantial changes in the student questionnaire. The final draft of this instrument is appended to this report. The student questionnaire was divided into two parts. Part I was composed mainly of items pertaining to the students' courses, grades, aspirations, friends, and group affiliations. Part II included most of the items pertaining to racial matters, such as norms concerning race relations, the behaviors of black and white students toward each other, and student perceptions regarding other-race students. Great care was taken in each part to include only items which have a definite role to play in the measurement of the variables in our model. Appendix A contains both parts of the Student Questionnaire. The standard forms filled out by black and white students were identical except for appropriate changes in the words "black" and "white." The forms used in Schools 1, 2, and 12 were slightly revised (shortened) forms of this standard questionnaire.

Our model also called for information which we felt the principal in each school and other administrative personnel were most qualified to supply. For example, data on the physical and historical characteristics of the schools, school policies governing students' behaviors, and policies concerning ability groupings could be obtained most efficiently from the administrators.

Sampling and Data Collection Procedures

The Students

In order to conduct an in-depth study of race relations in these high schools, we had to secure a large sample of students. Moreover, as our research design and operationalization of variables progressed, we realized that we would need a considerable amount of time with each student if we were to obtain all the information we felt was necessary. These requirements meant that several steps had to be taken in the sampling and data collection stages of the research.

First, we decided that we would need a sample of about 100 students in each school if we were to obtain a large enough N to permit the kind of analysis planned. We also realized that on any given day, a certain percentage of students would be absent from school or would not be free to take a questionnaire for other reasons. To control for this factor, we over-sampled by 20 percent in each school. As a result, about 60 black students and 60 white students in each class became the general standard we set for each section of our sample (N = 240 white and 240 black students in each school.

Students were selected randomly within each class on the basis of a total enrollment list which the school provided for us. The sampling procedures involved the selection of every n^{th} student of each race in each class with n varying according to the total number of black and white students in each class. For example, if the sophomore class at one school consisted of 240 black students, every 4^{th} black student was selected from the alphabetical order list of sophomores in order to provide the required sample of 60 black sophomores in that school. When fewer than 60 students of a given race were available in a particular class, all the available students were included in the sample. These procedures yielded a total sample N of 5,478 students from all the schools.

Discussions were held with each principal to arrange a system whereby we could administer our questionnaires to this large sample of students. The general pattern which emerged from these discussions was the following: Part I of the questionnaire was administered on one day, and Part II was administered one to two days later. On each day the researchers met with the students for the equivalent of one class hour. The researchers were present in each school for several class periods each day so that groups of students could take the questionnaire in an assigned room, often during their "free periods" (e.g., study hall period). Facilities and class schedules at some schools required minor variations on this pattern (e.g., in some schools the researchers could meet with the students during four periods each day while at other schools the students came to us in smaller numbers during eight class periods). In almost every instance, at least one white person and one black person from the research team was present to administer the questionnaires.

Data collection began during the first week of May, 1971 and continued through the first week of June. After the first two days of data collection in each school was completed, the researchers compiled lists of those students who had (1) missed Part I only, (2) missed Part II only or (3) missed both parts. In all but one school (School 3) where few students missed taking the questionnaire, arrangements were made for a third visit (or more) to get data from those students who had missed one or more parts of the questionnaire. These procedures produced an overall questionnaire completion rate of about 84 percent for each part and a total N of nearly 4300 students who completed one or both parts. (See Table 2-3 for exact figures by school.)

Table 2-3. RESPONSE RATE OF STUDENTS BY SCHOOL AND RACE

	Black Students Completing				White Students Completing			
	Part I		Part II		Part I		Part II	
School	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	18	82	18	82	220	90	218	89
2	129	88	133	90	298	92	299	93
3	159	83	164	86	193	85	199	88
4	199	89	196	88	213	90	211	89
5	193	84	188	82	204	89	203	89
6	185	78	197	83	214	86	214	86
7	212	86	213	87	215	86	219	87
8	174	73	149	63	211	76	185	67
9	229	76	230	77	242	80	230	77
10	128	85	138	91	103	89	102	88
11	204	87	201	87	210	90	209	90
12	166	78	155	72	-	-	-	-
Total	1996	82	1982	82	2323	86	2289	85

The Administrators

The principals were sent a questionnaire during the last week in May. This instrument, as we have indicated, contained some questions which the principals could ask other members of their staffs to complete. Principals returned their questionnaires by mail.

Data from School Records

Late in the spring of 1971, we were granted permission to utilize two large and valuable sets of record data. One of these sets consists of the regular reports which each school had to submit concerning any incidents or discipline problems. These data have been extremely useful in providing us with a formal record of all reported incidents (e.g., fights, extortion) within each racial group and between black and white students during the year at each school (see Part II of this report). The second set of data consists of IBM tapes containing pertinent material from each school. These tapes include data on each student's grades, attendance, achievement and IQ scores, and courses taken, plus other data on each student's school career. (Some of these data will be used in later parts of the report.)

Chapter 3. Characteristics of the Schools

In this chapter, we will discuss some of the more outstanding features of each of the 12 schools. The schools will be presented in order of their racial compositions, starting with School 1, which had a 99 percent white student body and ending with School 12, the student body of which was almost 100 percent black. For each school, we will look at such matters as a) the racial composition of the school's faculty and student body; b) the academic programs which its students are pursuing; c) students' initial preferences for attending that school, rather than another; d) type of transportation used by students and time spent getting to school; e) ratio of faculty to students; f) adequacy of school facilities; and g) number and types of disciplinary violations. After a profile for each school is presented, an overall summary of the data will discuss similarities and differences among the schools and between the races in the various schools. The data from which all descriptions in the chapter are drawn are presented in Tables 3-1 through 3-9 at the end of the chapter.

School 1. In September 1970, School 1 was 33 years old. It was located in an over 90 percent white census tract at the eastern edge of Center Township. School 1 had the most completely white (99 percent) student body of any high school in the city. Its racial composition, unlike most schools in the study, had remained stable since 1965. Nearly nine of every ten white students (more than in any other school) said that, before enrolling, they had preferred School 1 over all other high schools in the city. Only 38 percent of the black students said they had preferred School 1.

The largest proportion of white students at School 1 were in the Academic and in the General programs.[1] Black students were most likely to be in the Fine and Practical Arts program, although over one-fourth of the Blacks were in the Academic program and another fourth were in the General program.

About half the white students said they rode in a car to school most days; another third said they walked. About half the black students said they took either a city bus or a school bus to school; another 40 percent said they walked. The vast majority of white students said it took them less than 15 minutes to get to school, while just over half the black students said it took them more than 15 minutes.

A staff-student ratio of 1:20 was maintained by a faculty (N = 125) which was 93 percent white. While the white teacher-white student ratio was about equal to the overall school ratio, the black teacher-black student ratio was much lower (i.e., fewer students per teacher). On a scale from 1 (very inadequate) to 4 (very adequate), the administration ranked the size of teaching and counselling staff as 4. On a scale from 1 (very inadequate) to 5 (excellent), 11 major school facilities were given an average rank of 2.7 by the administration. School 1 was the only high school in the city which did not have security guards.

Only four "incidents" involving serious breaches of school discipline were reported by School 1 to the central school administration during the 1970-71 school year. This was the smallest number of incidents reported by any school. The incident-student ratio was 1:637; that is, one incident for every 637 students. All four of the incidents reported involved trespassing or property damage. The administration noted that fighting between black and white students was about as infrequent as it had been the year before. All in all, the administration judged race relations at this school to be "very good."

School 2. School 2 was the newest school in the city (four years old in 1970). It was located in an over 90 percent white suburban census tract outside of Center Township. When School 2 began enrolling students in 1967, 99 percent of the students were white. At the time this study was done, the black enrollment was nine percent. This increase occurred most sharply in 1970 as a result of a school integration plan in the city. Consequently, the sophomore, junior, and senior classes were less than 2 percent black, but the freshman class was 22 percent black.

About three-quarters of the white students said they had preferred School 2 to other schools. However, only 17 percent of the black students said they had preferred attending the school.

Over one-third of the white students at School 2, but only 11 percent of the black students, were pursuing an Academic program. Over 40 percent of the Whites and slightly over half the Blacks were in the General program. Relatively small percentages of each racial group were in the other programs (Fine and Practical Arts and Vocational).

Over 60 percent of the white students rode to school in cars most days, while over 80 percent of the black students took city or school buses. Very few of the students in either racial group walked to school. Eight of ten white students said it took them less than 15 minutes to get to school, while eight of ten black students said it took them more than 15 minutes.

A ratio of one staff member to every nineteen students was maintained by a faculty (N = 96) that was 94 percent white. The white teacher-white student ratio (1:19) was somewhat lower than the 1:27 black teacher-black student ratio. The school administration rated the size of the teaching and counselling staffs as a 3 ("just barely adequate"). Having only one security guard was considered "somewhat inadequate." The adequacy of 11 major facilities was judged to be an average of 3.3 (3 = "just adequate").

School 2 reported 20 incidents during the 1970-71 school year. The incident-student ratio was 1:93 (not as good as at School 1, but still better than the all-school average). Nearly half of the incidents involved theft. Another 30 percent involved (the possibility of) interpersonal harm. The remaining incidents were scattered rather evenly throughout the other categories (see Table 3-8).

Only one fight was reported by School 2 and it was intraracial (black) in nature. All in all, the administration described race relations at this school as "very good."

School 3. School 3 was only eight years old in 1970. It was located in a suburban census tract inhabited by over 90 percent Whites. School 3 had been predominantly white since it opened, but the percentage of black students attending the school had increased during the six years just prior to our study. Much of the black increase had resulted from a school integration plan. The racial change was evident in the various classes: 6 percent of the senior class was black, but 22 percent of the freshman class was black. Eighty percent of the white students said they had preferred School 3 to other schools while 43 percent of the black students said they had preferred this school.

Two in every five white students, but only one in every five black students, were pursuing an Academic program. Over two of five students of each racial group were in the General program. Almost one in three Blacks, as compared to only one in eight Whites, were in the Fine and Practical Arts program.

Sixty-three percent of the white students rode in cars to school most days, while about eight of every ten black students rode in city or school buses. About one-quarter of the white students walked to school, but only about one percent of the black students walked. Nearly nine of ten white students said it took them less than 15 minutes to get to school most mornings, while nearly 80 percent of the black students said it took them over 15 minutes.

One hundred thirty-two faculty members (89 percent white) permitted a staff-student ratio of 1:20 at School 3. The white teacher-white student ratio (1:20) was somewhat lower than the 1:24 black teacher-black student ratio. The administration judged the numbers of teachers and counselors to be "quite adequate" (4 on a scale from 1 to 4). Having two security guards also was considered "quite adequate." The administration indicated, however, that the school's facilities were being stretched to their limits by an enrollment that was larger than that for which the school was built.

School 3 reported 17 incidents of serious rule violations. This figure produced an incident-student ratio of 1:159. Forty-one percent of these incidents involved trespassing or property damage. Another 29 percent involved the possibility of interpersonal harm. The remaining incidents involved theft and use of drugs or alcohol.

Four of the five interpersonal harm incidents involved fights. Three of these fights were intra-racial (two black and one white) and one was inter-racial. The administration indicated that the number of inter-racial fights on campus in the 1970-71 school year was fewer than in 1969-70. All in all, the administration said race relations at School 3 were "very good."

School 4. School 4 was 18 years old in 1970. It was located in a census tract at the southern edge of Center Township which had over 90 percent white residents. Since its inception, School 4 had been a predominantly white school. Since 1965, there had been a small increase in the percentage of black students attending School 4. The top three classes were about 13 percent black while the freshman class was 17 percent black. Over 80 percent of the white students, but only about 35 percent of the black students, said they had preferred School 4 to other schools.

Over one-third of the white students, but only 17 percent of the black students, were in the Academic program at School 4. Blacks were somewhat more likely than Whites to be in the General program and much more likely than Whites (32 to 18 percent) to be in the Fine and Practical Arts program.

Nearly three-quarters of the white students rode in cars to school most days; 60 percent of the black students took city or school buses. Few of the students walked. About 80 percent of the white students said it took them less than 15 minutes to get to school, while six of ten black students said it took them over 15 minutes.

A faculty of 125 (94 percent white) yielded a staff-student ratio of 1:20. The white teacher-white student ratio of 1:18 was quite a bit lower than the 1:43 ratio for black teachers and black students. The administration judged the number of teachers to be "just barely adequate" and the number of counselors to be "somewhat inadequate." Having one security guard was considered "very inadequate." In the judgment of the administration, the school facilities were, on the average, "just adequate."

Forty-five incidents of serious rule violations were reported by School 4--that is, one incident for every 54 students (a rate much poorer than those found in the other predominantly white schools but still better than the all-school average). Nearly half of the incidents involved theft. Just over a quarter of the incidents involved the possibility of interpersonal harm. Another 25 percent of the incidents involved trespassing or property damage.

Two of the 12 incidents involving interpersonal harm were fights and both of these were intra-racial (one white and one black). The administration reported that inter-racial fighting had been less frequent in 1970-71 than in 1969-70. In general, the administration described black-white relations at School 4 as "good."

School 5. School 5 was a 10 year old school located in an over 90 percent white census tract outside of Center Township. Though its student body was 99 percent white in 1965, by 1970 its racial composition had changed to 73 percent white and 27 percent black. This represented the second highest rate of racial change of all the high schools in the city. The rapidity of the change was evident in the fact that about 12 percent of the senior class was black, while nearly one-third of the freshman class was black. About 80 percent of the white students at School 5 said they had preferred their school over other city high schools. Thirty-eight percent of the black students said they had preferred School 5.

Almost half of the white students, but only 12 percent of the black students at School 5, were in the Academic program. Black students at School 5 were much more likely than white students to be pursuing a General program.

About 60 percent of the white students rode by car to school most mornings, while about 80 percent of the black students rode to school on buses. Moreover, eight of ten white students got to school in less than 15 minutes. Just over half the black students said it took them less than 15 minutes, and nearly half the Blacks said it took them more than 15 minutes to get to school.

A staff-student ratio of 1:20 was maintained by a faculty (N = 133) which was 91 percent white. The white teacher-white student ratio (1:16) was several times lower than the 1:59 ratio for black teachers and black students. The black teacher-black student ratio was the third highest in all the schools. The administration considered the overall size of the teaching staff to be "quite adequate" and the size of the counselling staff to be "just barely adequate." The two full-time and one half-time security guards were considered "quite adequate." On the average, 11 major facilities were judged to be "good."

A total of 78 serious disciplinary incidents (1 for every 34 students) were reported at School 5 during the 1970-71 year. Forty-five percent of these incidents involved the possibility of interpersonal harm. The remaining incidents were fairly evenly distributed in the remaining categories.

Of the 12 fights that were included in the interpersonal harm category, nine were intra-racial (six black and three white) and three were inter-racial. According to the school's administration, the number of the inter-racial fights in 1970-71 was less than the year before. However, race relations at this school were described by the administration as only "fair."

School 6. School 6 was a 32 year old school located in a predominantly white suburban area north of Center Township. In the past six years it had experienced the most rapid rate of racial change of any high school in the city. From a 99 percent white school in 1965, School 6 had changed to a 65 percent white-35 percent black school in 1970. This change was reflected in the distribution of students among the four classes: 26 percent of the seniors were black, but 48 percent of the freshmen were black in 1970. About two-thirds of the white students said they had preferred School 6 to other schools prior to enrollment. Half of the black students said they had preferred School 6.

Over half of the white students, but only 16 percent of the black students at School 6 were pursuing an Academic program. Black students were more likely than white students to be both in the General and the Fine and Practical Arts programs.

About three-quarters of the white students said they rode to school most days in cars. Over 80 percent of the black students got to school either by city bus or by school bus. Few of the students in either group walked to school. Eighty-five percent of the white students said it took them less than 15 minutes to get to school, while nearly two-thirds of the black students said it took them more than 15 minutes.

School 6 was one of the two high schools with a black principal. This man had assumed his duties just prior to the September 1970 semester. A faculty of 98 (87 percent white) allowed for a 1:20 staff-student ratio which the administration described as "very inadequate." There was a 1:15 ratio for white teachers to white students and a 1:54 ratio for black teachers to black students. Having two security guards also was considered "very inadequate" by the administration. Eleven school facilities were judged to be 3.6 on a scale from 1 to 5 (i.e., about mid-way between "good" and "just adequate").

Forty-three serious disciplinary incidents were reported at School 6; that is, one incident per 46 students (close to the median for all schools). Thirty-nine percent of these incidents involved the possibility of interpersonal harm. Another 35 percent of all incidents involved theft.

Four of the five fights that were included in the interpersonal harm category were intra-racial (three black and one white) and one was inter-racial. The number of inter-racial fights, according to the school administration, was somewhat less than the year before. Yet, race relations at this school were described by the administration as only "fair."

School 7. School 7 was among the oldest schools in the city (44 years old). It was located just outside of Center Township, but was closer to the central city area than any of the schools we have discussed so far. While its census tract was predominately white, several nearby tracts from which School 7 drew its students were much more racially integrated (this fact also distinguished School 7 from any schools we have discussed so far). This school has been a substantially integrated school since 1965, but also has seen its racial composition change 17 percent since that time. About one-third of the senior class was black, but just over 40 percent of the freshman class was black. About three-quarters of the white students and just under half of the black students said they had preferred attending School 7 prior to coming there.

The proportion of white students in the Academic program at School 7 (about one-fourth) was below the average for white students in all schools but still over twice the proportion of Blacks in the Academic program at School 7. Black students at School 7 were somewhat over-represented both in the General and in the Fine and Practical Arts programs.

Just under half of the white students got to school most days by car, and just over 40 percent walked to school. Black students were most likely to take a bus (38 percent), but sizable proportions also rode in cars (35 percent) or walked (26 percent). Over three-quarters of the white students said it took them less than 15 minutes to get to school, while just over half the black students said it took them more than 15 minutes.

A 91 percent white faculty (N = 115) yielded a staff-student ratio of 1:18. The administration described this figure as "quite adequate." The ratio for white teachers and white students (1:12) was much lower than the all-school average, while the ratio for black teachers and black students (1:75) was much higher than the school average (i.e., more black students for each black teacher). The black teacher-black student ratio was the second highest in all the schools. The one security guard also was considered "quite adequate." However, the facilities at the school were judged to be "somewhat inadequate."

School 7 reported 36 serious disciplinary incidents; that is, one incident for every 56 students (fewer incidents than the integrated school average). Over half (55 percent) of these incidents fell into the interpersonal harm category. Another 25 percent of the incidents were clustered in the trespassing and property damage category.

Seven of the interpersonal incidents involved fights. Three of these fights were intra-racial (one black and two white) and four were inter-racial. The inter-racial fights were described as about the same in number as the year before. In general, the administration reported that race relations at this school were "good."

School 8. This school is the oldest in the city (75 years of age). It is located in a census tract that was 10 to 30 percent black. Because School 8 is near the inner city area, it also drew many students from neighborhoods and census tracts that included even higher percentages of black families. The racial composition of School 8 had changed from 21 percent black in 1965 to 37 percent black in 1970. The racial compositions of the four classes were quite similar, the largest difference appearing between the junior class (37 percent black) and the senior class (33 percent black). Just over half of the white students and just over 40 percent of the black students said they had preferred School 8 over other high schools in the city.

Over half of the students of each race at School 8 were pursuing a General program. The largest proportion of white students at any school (almost one-fifth), and an above-average proportion of black students (over one-tenth) were in the Vocational program. For each race, the proportion of students in the Academic program was the lowest among all schools.

White students were equally likely to ride in a car or to walk to school most days (about 40 percent in each category). Black students, however, were much more likely to come to school by bus (65 percent). Just over half the white students said it took them less than 15 minutes to get to school. Nearly two-thirds of the black students said it took them over 15 minutes to travel to school.

A faculty numbering 128 (85 percent white) allowed for the second best staff-student ratio of all the high schools in the city (1:12). The ratio for white teachers and white students (1:9) was much lower than the ratio for black teachers and black students (1:30). The administration judged the size of the teaching and counselling staff to be "quite adequate." Having only one security guard, however, was considered "somewhat inadequate." The facilities in general were judged to be "just adequate."

School 8 reported 145 disciplinary incidents in 1970-71. This figure yielded the lowest (worst) incident-student ratio of all the schools we studied: one incident for every 11 students. Just over half of these incidents fell into the interpersonal harm category. Another 23 percent of all incidents fell into the trespassing and property damage category.

Sixteen of the 77 interpersonal harm incidents were fights. Fourteen of these fights were intra-racial (nine black and five white) and two were inter-racial. The administration felt that inter-racial fights were less frequent in 1970-71 than they had been in previous years. In general, black-white relations in this school were judged "good" by the administration.

School 9. School 9 was the largest high school in the city with an enrollment twice the size of most other high schools. It also was the second oldest high school in the city (59 years old). School 9 is located in a Center Township census tract east of the city's center. The population in this tract was largely white, but there also was a minority black population there. Nearby tracts ranged from predominantly white to predominantly black. Since 1965, the racial composition of the school had changed from 67 percent white to 47 percent white (the third largest change of all the schools). The freshman and sophomore classes had only a slightly higher proportion of Blacks (about 54 percent) than did the junior and senior classes (about 50 percent black). About three-quarters of both the black and white students preferred School 9--a preference balance not found in any other school.

As in School 8, a majority of the students of both races (though somewhat more Blacks) were pursuing a General program. A smaller proportion of each race than the all-school average (though twice as many Whites as Blacks) were in the Academic program and a larger-than-average proportion of each race (about one-eighth of each group) were in the Vocational Program.

Most white students walked (44 percent) or took cars (43 percent) to school most mornings. However, most black students took either a city bus or a school bus (63 percent). Just over 60 percent of the white students said it took them less than 15 minutes to travel to school, while over three-quarters of the black students said it took them more than 15 minutes.

Because School 9 had the largest student enrollment, it also had the largest faculty (N = 281). This faculty (89 percent white) yielded a staff-student ratio of 1:18. There was a low white teacher-white student ratio of 1:9, while the black teacher-black student ratio (1:87) was the highest in all the schools. The size of teaching staff was judged to be "quite adequate" and the size of counselling staff was considered "just barely adequate" by the school administration. The 12 security guards--more than in any other school--were considered "quite adequate." Eleven facilities were assessed as "just adequate."

School 9 reported the largest number of incidents of all the high schools in the study (N = 354). The incident-student ratio (1:14) was second lowest (worst) in the city. Two-thirds of the incidents involved the possibility of interpersonal harm. The second most common type of incident involved theft (14 percent).

Fifty-one of the 235 interpersonal harm incidents involved fights. Forty-three of these fights were intra-racial (30 black and 13 white) and eight were inter-racial. The school administration felt that inter-racial fights were less common in 1970-71 than they had been the year before. In general, the administration judged race relations to be "good" at this school.

School 10 was a unique site. It came into existence in September 1970 and went out of existence at the end of the 1970-71 school year. This was the first really integrated class of School 12, the traditionally all-black high school of Indianapolis. Rather than bringing this freshman class onto the campus of an otherwise all-black school, school authorities decided to house the class in a geographically separate location, with the plan of reuniting the four classes sometime in the future. The principal of School 12 had authority over "School" 10, but a vice-principal was located in School 10 and exercised immediate authority there. Because of the geographical separation of this freshman class and because of its radically different racial composition from the upper classes, we will treat it as a separate school.

School 10 was located in a predominantly white suburban census tract northwest of the central city. The student body was 54 percent black and 46 percent white. Only 5 percent of the white students and 20 percent of the black students said they had preferred attending this school rather than another school.

Most of the white students at School 10 were divided fairly equally among the Academic, General, and Fine and Practical Arts programs, with somewhat more in the Academic than in other programs. The largest proportion (about two-fifths) of the black students planned to pursue a Fine and Practical Arts program. About one-fifth of the Blacks planned a General program and another fifth intended to pursue an Academic program.

Nearly 90 percent of the white students and over 80 percent of the black students took city and school buses to this school. While a majority of Blacks said it took them less than 15 minutes to get to school, a majority of Whites said it took them over 15 minutes.

A faculty of 30 (53 percent white) allowed for an overall teacher-student ratio of 1:10 (the best in the city). The white teacher-white student ratio was somewhat lower than the ratio for black teachers and black students, but the ratios were among the most equal of those in all the schools. This situation, no doubt, reflected the "controlled" nature of the School 10 "experiment."

Fourteen serious disciplinary incidents were reported at School 10 during the 1970-71 school year. This number produced an incident-student ratio of 1:20. Thirty-six percent of the fourteen involved trespassing and property damage; another 29 percent involved interpersonal harm; and another 29 percent involved theft. The only fight reported was inter-racial in nature.

School 11. This school was 43 years old in 1970. It is located in Center Township and north of the city center. In 1970, the census tract in which it was located was between 50 and 70 percent black; neighboring tracts were even more black. In an effort to keep a substantial proportion of white students at School 11 as the area around it became increasingly black, the school board had attempted to make the school especially attractive to students who desired high academic standards. Starting in September 1966 only average or above-average students were admitted and the school emphasized an Academic (college preparatory) program. Since only those students who had good grades in elementary school were admitted to this school, many students living close to School 11 (primarily black students) who could not meet entrance standards were required to go to other high schools. Some white students from other parts of the city also chose to go to this school.

In the fall of 1970, the policy of keeping School 11 a primarily Academic school was dropped. Thus, at the time of this study, most of the freshman class was not in the Academic program, while the sophomore, junior, and senior classes were still primarily Academic. The freshman, sophomore, and junior classes also had a greater proportion of black students (70 to 77 percent) than did the senior class (57 percent). In total, about three-fourths of the white students and over half of the black students were in the Academic program. Black students were more likely than Whites to be pursuing the Fine and Practical Arts program.

The racial composition of the school had not changed dramatically since 1965. Between 1965 and 1968, the black student percentage dropped from 77 to 66; but from 1968 to 1970, it increased again to 71 percent. Just over 80 percent of the white students and three-quarters of the black students said they had preferred attending School 11.

Over 60 percent of the white students rode in cars to school most days. Black students were most likely to walk (40 percent), but substantial numbers of black students also rode in cars (25 percent) or took a bus (34 percent). Seven of ten white students and six of ten black students said it took them less than 15 minutes to travel to school.

A faculty of 109 (72 percent white) yielded a staff-student ratio of 1:16. The white teacher-white student ratio (1:6) was second lowest in the city, while the black teacher-black student ratio was over six times as high. The size of the teaching staff was considered "quite adequate" and the size of the counselling staff was considered "just barely adequate" by the administration. Having four security guards was considered "somewhat inadequate." Facilities were judged, on the average, to be "just adequate."

Sixty-two incidents (1 to every 28 students) were reported at School 11 during the 1970-71 year. This incident-student ratio in majority-black School 11 was about equal to the average ratio for the group of schools (5 through 10) in which black students constituted from about one-fourth to about one-half of the student bodies. Just over a quarter (27 percent) of the incidents were of the interpersonal harm type. Another 24 percent of all incidents fell into the theft category, while the rest were scattered among other categories.

Four of the interpersonal incidents were fights, three of which were intra-racial (all black) and one of which was inter-racial. The inter-racial fights at this school in 1970-71 were thought by the administration to be somewhat less frequent than they had been in the previous year. Race relations, in general, were judged to be "good."

School 12. School 12 was located in an over 90 percent black census tract not far from the downtown area. It had been founded 45 years earlier as an all-black school and had remained that way throughout its history. (When we studied School 12, less than a handful of white students were enrolled). Just over 80 percent of the students said they had preferred attending School 12 to attending any other school, the highest proportion of black students at any school giving this answer.

The largest numbers of students were divided about equally among the Academic, General, and Fine and Practical Arts programs, and about another tenth of the student body was pursuing a Vocational program. Compared to black students in other schools, students in the all-black school were less likely to be in the General program and somewhat more likely to be either in the Academic or Fine and Practical Arts program.

Half of the students took buses to school most mornings; about a third rode in cars, and less than a fifth walked to school. About half the students said it took them more than 15 minutes to get to school.

A faculty of 87 (71 percent black) permitted a faculty-student ratio of 1:16, a figure that was considered "quite adequate" by the administration. The three security guards also were judged to be "quite adequate." Facilities at the school were thought by the administration to be "just adequate," on the average.

School 12 reported 69 serious disciplinary incidents. This figure yielded a 1:21 incident-student ratio, reflecting a much greater frequency of such incidents than in the predominantly white schools, a somewhat greater frequency than the average for substantially integrated schools, but a lesser frequency of incidents than in three of the substantially integrated schools. Just over half of the reported incidents in School 12 involved theft. The second most common type of incident was the interpersonal harm type (17 percent). All four of the fights were intra-racial in nature.

An Overall Summary of the Schools' Characteristics

Having provided a short profile of each school, we now draw an overall summary, looking at similarities and differences among the 12 schools and between black and white students. Let us consider, in turn, each of the school characteristics discussed in this chapter:

School Locations

Most schools were located in census tracts which were either predominantly white or predominantly black. Ten schools were located in census tracts that were over 50 percent white. Eight of these ten schools were in tracts over 90 percent white; two schools were in tracts between 70 and 90 percent white. The two remaining schools were located in tracts that were over 50 percent black. These figures reflect the extensive residential segregation in Indianapolis (and most other cities of its size).

Age of the Schools

The data indicate that the schools were either quite old or very new. Seven of the twelve schools were over 30 years of age and five of the seven were over 40 years old. The five schools that were less than 30 years old averaged about eight years of age. These newer schools tended to be more white than black in their enrollment.

Racial Composition of the Student Bodies

The proportion of black students in the various schools ranged from one percent to almost 100 percent. Four of the schools could be classified as predominantly white, having less than 15 percent black students. Six schools were substantially integrated racially, having from over one-quarter to slightly over one-half black students. One additional school also was substantially integrated, but it was the only integrated school with a large black majority. Finally, one school was virtually all black in enrollment.

Racial Change since 1965

The four predominantly white schools had experienced an average change of seven percent in the racial compositions of their student bodies since 1965. Schools 5 through 10 had experienced considerably more change (an average of 23 percent). The two schools with the largest percentage of black students resembled the predominantly white schools in terms of racial change: both groups of schools had experienced relatively little change compared to the substantially integrated Schools 5 through 10.

Student Preferences among Schools

Large majorities of white students in nine of eleven schools said they had preferred the school they attended prior to going there, and a small majority of Whites at a tenth school also had preferred their school. The glaring exception was School 10, the freshman facility of the all-black school, which only five percent of the white students said they had preferred. There was no consistent drop in white student preference for a school as the proportion of Blacks increased.

Black students' preferences for going to their present school (prior to actually attending) were generally greatest in those schools where black students were about equal numerically to, or greater in number than, white students. At three of the four schools in this category, three-quarters or more of the black students said they had preferred their present school. The only exception was the newly-created School 10, which was preferred by relatively few Blacks.

At seven of the eight schools with white majorities, a substantial minority of black students--ranging from 35 to 46 percent--said they had preferred attending their present school. Only at School 2, where a substantial number of black students were attending for the first year, did a rather small percentage (17 percent) of black students report a prior preference for their present school. While black students' preference for majority-white schools was generally less than for schools where Blacks were not a minority, it did not decrease systematically as the proportion of Whites at these schools increased.

Distribution of Students in Programs

Among both races, the distribution of students in the four school programs (as reported by students in our sample) varied considerably from school to school. In every one of the 11 schools where racial comparisons were possible, the proportion of white students in the Academic program was larger than the proportion of black students in that program. The ratios of white to black students in this college preparatory program were especially high in Schools 2, 5, and 6. Students of both races were most likely to be in the Academic program at the majority-black School 11, which, except for the freshman class, was a primarily Academic school.

Whereas a greater proportion of Whites than Blacks were in the Academic program of each school, a greater proportion of Blacks than Whites were in the Fine and Practical Arts program in every school. Sizable proportions of the students of each race were in the General program at most schools, and differences in the proportion of each race in this program were not large or consistent across schools. No school had a large proportion of students in the Vocational program. The largest proportions of students in the Vocational program were found at Schools 8 and 9.

Travel to School

A majority of white students in every school but one (School 10) usually got to school either by walking or by riding in a car, with automobiles being the most frequent mode of transportation for Whites. A majority of black students in most schools, on the other hand, went to school by bus (either a city bus or a school bus). Only in the majority-black and all-black schools, and in School 7, did a majority of black students get to school by walking or by car. Consistent with the transportation differences, in ten of eleven schools a much larger proportion of Whites than of Blacks were able to get to school in less than 15 minutes.

Faculty

The size of the faculty at various schools varied considerably. The total ratio of faculty to students ranged from 1:16 to 1:20 at most schools, with considerably better ratios (i.e., proportionately more faculty) at Schools 8 and 10. Overall faculty to student ratios were somewhat poorer at those schools with the largest proportions of white students. However, the administrations at the predominantly white schools were not consistently more likely than those at schools with larger proportions of Blacks to judge the size of their staff as less than adequate. Only in Schools 4 and 6 were the staffs judged to be inadequate in terms of size.

The great majority of faculty members at ten of the twelve schools were white. The most notable exceptions were the all-black school, which had a mostly black faculty, and School 10, which had a faculty which approximately equalled the 50-50 racial makeup of its student body. With these exceptions, the proportion of black teachers in the racially integrated schools rose little as the proportion of black students increased (across schools). This meant that, as the proportion of black students increased, the ratio of black teachers to black students increased also (i.e., there were more black students per black teacher); conversely, the white teacher-white student ratio (not very high in any school) was lowest in those schools with the largest proportion of black students.

Facilities and Security

While schools with relatively large proportions of black students were generally in the oldest school buildings, on the average, the administrations of these schools judged their facilities and equipment as favorably as did the administrations of the newer schools (though usually not much above "barely adequate"). But while school facilities were rated fairly uniformly as adequate (or close to adequate), there was a feeling by five of the ten administrations responding to this question that the number of security guards employed at their schools was inadequate. Two of the schools where the number of guards was judged inadequate were predominantly white schools; two others were majority-white, but substantially integrated, schools; and one was the majority-black school. The actual number of security guards ranged from none at the almost all-white school to an atypical 12 at School 9, a school which had experienced serious outbreaks of fighting and other disorders during the year of the study.

Incidents of Serious Rule Violations

Incidents of serious rule violations in each school were reported to the central school administration during the school year. The total incident-student ratio was generally highest (i.e., fewest incidents) in the predominantly white schools (Schools 1 through 4). Differences in the incident-student ratio among the other schools (ranging from School 5 with 27 percent black students to essentially all-black School 12) were generally not large and were not related consistently to racial proportion. However, when incidents are divided into major types, there is a clear tendency for the greatest number of incidents involving interpersonal harm (or the possibility thereof) to have occurred in those schools with a substantial proportion of black students, but less than a majority of Blacks. (Even the one school, School 10, which deviates somewhat from the overall picture turns out, as we shall see later, to be far above the average in students' report of fighting.) Incidents reported to the central administration involving interpersonal harm were fewest both in predominantly white schools and in predominantly black schools. This picture holds, whether we look at the absolute numbers of interpersonal harm incidents or these numbers as a proportion of total reported incidents.

In the great majority of schools where fights were reported (ten of eleven), most of the reported fights were among students of the same race and more often among black students than among white students. This tended to be true regardless of the racial composition of the school. However, the number of inter-racial incidents involving personal harm (or its possibility) was generally highest in the substantially integrated (but not majority-black) schools. This group of schools (Schools 5 through 10) generally reported both more intra-racial fights and more inter-racial fights than did other schools.

Reported incidents involving trespassing and property damage varied widely among schools, but constituted the largest proportion of the incidents reported by two predominantly white schools and two schools with majority-black enrollments. Essentially the same pattern appeared in the data concerning theft. Thus, while incidents involving interpersonal harm were most frequent in schools with a white majority but substantial black minority, incidents of trespassing, property damage and theft (i.e., nonpersonal harm incidents) were most frequent in both the predominantly white and majority black schools. The proportion of incidents involving drug or alcohol violations showed no systematic relation to school racial proportions. The proportion of such incidents was under

20 percent in all schools and under 10 percent in most, consistent with the reports of informants in the schools who generally reported no widespread use of narcotics in the schools at this time.

This summary of characteristics of the schools indicates considerable variation among the schools in a number of respects. In Chapter 5, we will examine evidence concerning the extent to which these variations--and many others--are associated with variations in race relations. Before turning to this data, however, it is important to examine our data concerning the nature of race relations in the various schools. These data are presented in the next chapter.

TABLE 3-1. RACIAL COMPOSITION OF STUDENT BODY BY SCHOOL: 1965-1970 (PERCENT BLACK)

School	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	Change 1965-1970
1.	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
2.	*	*	1	1	1	9	8
3.	1	3	4	7	10	14	13
4.	8	9	12	12	13	14	6
5.	1	2	4	11	20	27	26
6.	1	7	17	18	25	35	34
7.	20	24	27	32	34	37	17
8.	21	24	24	29	30	37	16
9.	33	38	44	48	51	53	20
10.	*	*	*	*	*	54	*
11.	77	76	72	66	67	71	6
12.	100	100	99	99	99	99	**

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[*] Data not applicable

[**] Less than .5 percent

TABLE 3-2. BLACK AND WHITE STUDENT PREFERENCE FOR THEIR PRESENT SCHOOL BY SCHOOL

(% who said they "preferred this school just before you came here")

School	White Students	Black Students	Difference
1.	87	38	46
2.	76	17	60
3.	80	43	38
4.	84	35	47
5.	80	38	40
6.	64	50	14
7.	76	46	31
8.	54	44	10
9.	73	74	1
10.	5	20	13
11.	83	75	8
12.	*	82	*

---

*Data not applicable

TABLE 3-3. ACADEMIC PROGRAM IN WHICH STUDENTS ARE ENROLLED, OR TYPE OF COURSES THEY PLAN TO TAKE, BY SCHOOL AND BY RACE[a]

(percent)

School	Academic	General	Fine and Practical Arts	Vocational	Won't be in School
Black Students					
1.	28	28	44	0	0
2.	11	51	15	8	16
3.	19	41	31	5	4
4.	17	44	32	5	2
5.	12	62	17	6	3
6.	16	51	23	8	3
7.	11	54	27	6	2
8.	10	57	18	11	4
9.	11	62	13	12	2
10.	21	22	39	3	15
11.	54	17	19	7	3
12.	27	27	32	11	3
All Schools	19	45	24	8	4
White Students					
1.	41	43	11	6	0
2.	37	42	14	5	3
3.	40	44	12	2	3
4.	35	38	18	7	2
5.	46	37	13	2	2
6.	52	34	8	4	2
7.	26	48	19	6	2
8.	18	52	11	18	2
9.	22	51	11	14	3
10.	31	26	24	2	17
11.	74	19	2	2	2
12.	--	--	--	--	--
All Schools	39	40	12	6	3

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[a] The data in this table are based on the reports of our sample of students in each school. Juniors and seniors were enrolled in a program. They were asked "What program are you in right now?" Under a new school policy, sophomores (who had enrolled in a program when they entered high school) and freshmen were no longer required to be enrolled in a specific program. Sophomores and freshmen were asked "How would you describe the kinds of courses you plan to take during the rest of your time in high school?"

TABLE 3-4. MODES OF TRANSPORTATION AND LENGTH OF TIME TO SCHOOL BY SCHOOL AND RACE (PERCENT)

	Modes of Transportation						Time to Travel			
	Whites			Blacks			Whites		Blacks	
School	Walk	Car	Bus	Walk	Car	Bus	≤ 15 Min.	> 15 Min.	≤ 15 Min.	> 15 Min.
1.	33	52	13	39	11	50	83	17	45	55
2.	13	61	22	10	6	83	80	20	16	84
3.	23	63	9	1	13	86	87	13	21	79
4.	17	74	8	10	29	60	81	19	42	58
5.	21	61	16	2	17	79	81	19	52	48
6.	17	74	6	2	13	83	85	15	36	64
7.	43	46	10	26	35	38	78	22	48	52
8.	40	39	20	20	16	65	55	45	36	64
9.	44	43	12	15	21	63	62	38	22	78
10.	7	5	87	4	14	82	36	64	63	37
11.	11	64	23	40	25	34	71	29	62	38
12.	*	*	*	14	31	52	*	*	49	51

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*Data not applicable

TABLE 3-5. AGE OF SCHOOL AND SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FACULTY BY SCHOOL

School	Age of School in 1970 (Years)[a]	Number of Faculty	Race Composition of Faculty (% White)	Total Faculty-Student Ratio	White Faculty-White Student Ratio	Black Faculty-Black Student Ratio
1.	33	125	93	1:20	1:22	1:3
2.	4	96	94	1:19	1:19	1:27
3.	8	132	89	1:20	1:20	1:24
4.	18	125	94	1:20	1:18	1:43
5.	10	133	91	1:20	1:16	1:59
6.	32	98	87	1:20	1:15	1:54
7.	44	115	91	1:18	1:12	1:75
8.	75	128	85	1:12	1:9	1:30
9.	59	281	89	1:18	1:9	1:87
10.	1	30	53	1:10	1:9	1:12
11.	43	109	72	1:16	1:6	1:38
12.	45	87	29	1:16	1:0.2	1:28

---

[a] The age of each school was defined as the number of years ago that the main physical plant was first used as a school. Certainly, improvements have been made and new buildings have been added to most schools since the first year of their existence. Still, the age of each school provides some estimation of (a) the probable condition of the over-all physical plant; (b) the extent to which the citizens can place the school in some historical community context; (c) the growth patterns of the community (see Figures 2, 3, and 4); and (d) the extent to which each school has had a chance to develop a history and "traditions" of its own.

TABLE 3-6. ADMINISTRATIVE ASSESSMENT OF NUMBER OF FACULTY, COUNSELORS, SECURITY GUARDS, AND OVERALL FACILITIES BY SCHOOL

	Adequacy of:		
School	Number of Faculty and Counselors[a]	Number of Security Guards[a]	Major School Facilities[b]
1.	4.0	**	2.7
2.	3.0	2.0	3.3
3.	4.0	4.0	*
4.	2.5	1.0	3.0
5.	3.5	4.0	4.0
6.	1.0	1.0	3.6
7.	4.0	4.0	2.1
8.	4.0	2.0	3.1
9.	3.5	4.0	3.3
10.	*	*	*
11.	3.5	2.0	2.9
12.	4.0	4.0	3.2

---

[a] Response categories were: (1) very inadequate, (2) somewhat inadequate, (3) just barely adequate, and (4) quite adequate.

[b] Administrators were asked to assess the following facilities at their respective schools: Classroom space, laboratory facilities, lecture hall(s), library, auditorium, gymnasium, instructional equipment, cafeteria, study hall space, shop and vocational facilities, textbooks now in use. Response categories were: (1) very inadequate, (2) somewhat inadequate, (3) just adequate, (4) good, and (5) excellent. Data shown are average ratings.

*Data not available

**Data not applicable

TABLE 3-7. NUMBER OF SECURITY GUARDS, NUMBER OF REPORTED INCIDENTS OF RULE VIOLATIONS, AND ADMINISTRATIVE ASSESSMENTS OF OVERALL RACE RELATIONS, BY SCHOOL

School	Number of Security Guards	Number of Incidents Reported[a]	Incident-Student Ratio[b]	Overall Race Relations: Administrative Judgment
1.	0	4	1:637	Very Good
2.	1	20	1:93	Very Good
3.	2	17	1:159	Very Good
4.	1	45	1:54	Good
5.	2.5[c]	78	1:34	Fair
6.	2	43	1:46	Fair
7.	1	36	1:56	Good
8.	1	145	1:11	Good
9.	12	354	1:14	Good
10.	*	14	1:20	*
11.	4	62	1:28	Good
12.	3	69	1:21	Good

---

[a] The data pertain to those incidents which were serious breaches of school rules and were detected and reported by each school administration to the central administration. To what extent they reflect accurately the total number of incidents in each category is unknown, but the best evidence from similar kinds of data (e.g., crime statistics) indicates that these figures are likely to be conservative (i.e., underestimate the total number of incidents).

[b] This figure suggests that (a) if each student were involved in no more than one incident, and (b) if no more than one student were involved in any incident, then one student in every Nth would have been involved in one of these incidents. Clearly, neither of the above assumptions is entirely true, so these ratios must be considered rough estimates rather than precise indications of student behavior problems.

[c] Two full-time and one half-time guard.

*Data not available.

TABLE 3-8. TYPES OF REPORTED INCIDENTS BY SCHOOL

(Percentages)

School	Trespassing, Property Damage[a]	(Possibility of) Interpersonal Harm[b]	Theft	Drug or Alcohol Violations	Miscellaneous[c]
1.	100	0	0	0	0
2.	10	30	45	10	5
3.	41	29	12	18	0
4.	25	27	47	2	0
5.	22	45	15	13	4
6.	19	39	35	5	2
7.	25	55	8	8	3
8.	23	53	17	12	2
9.	14	66	14	4	1
10.	36	29	29	7	0
11.	32	27	24	13	3
12.	25	17	54	4	0

---

[a] Includes trespassing, vandalism, arson, false fire alarms, and bomb threats.

[b] Includes assaults, fights, extortion, molest, disorderly conduct, possession of firearms.

[c] Such as loitering, exposure, and runaways.

TABLE 3-9. EVIDENCE CONCERNING INTRA- AND INTER-RACIAL FIGHTS REPORTED DURING 1970-71 YEAR BY SCHOOL

School	Number of Fights Reported in 1970-71	Number of Fights		Proportion of Intra-Racial Fights Involving Blacks Only (Percent)	Inter-Racial Fights as % of Total Fights	Inter-Racial Fighting As Compared to 1969-70: Administrative Judgment
		Intra-Racial	Inter-Racial			
1.	0	0	0	--	--	Same
2.	1	1	0	100	0	*
3.	4	3	1	67	25	Less
4.	2	2	0	50	0	Less
5.	12	9	3	67	25	Less
6.	5	4	1	75	20	Less
7.	7	3	4	34	57	Same
8.	16	14	2	64	12	Less
9.	51	43	8	70	15	Less
10.	1	0	1	--	100	**
11.	4	3	1	100	25	Less
12.	4	4	0	100	0	Less

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*Data not available

**Not applicable

PART II

INTER-RACIAL INTERACTION
AND SOME OF ITS DETERMINANTS

Chapter 4. Race Relations in the Schools: A Description

In this chapter we will present a descriptive account of race relations in the various schools, based on students' reports of their own experiences. Specifically, we will examine the frequency of the following kinds of inter-racial behaviors, interactions, and judgments: 1) avoidance of cross-racial contact; 2) seeking friendships; 3) friendly interactions; 4) unfriendly interactions; 5) general descriptions of the friendliness of cross-racial contacts; and 6) changes in opinions about other-race people.

In considering each of these aspects of race relations, we will describe and compare the overall responses by black students and by white students. We also will compare the responses by students at the different schools. In addition, for certain types of friendly and unfriendly interaction, we will compare the frequency of specific kinds of interactions across racial lines with the frequency of the same type of interaction within racial groups.

Avoiding and Seeking Contact with Other-Race Students

Avoidance

One way in which people may react to the presence of those who are different from themselves is to avoid these persons, insofar as this is possible. Since some students may be reluctant to admit to doing this, we introduced our questions in the following way: "Some (own race) students have had bad experiences with (other race) students or have heard about other people who have had bad experiences. They may prefer not to have too much to do with (other race) students if they can avoid it. How often during this semester have you tried to avoid being with (other race) students in each of the ways listed below?"

Seven specific ways of avoidance were listed. In this section we consider three types of behavior which illustrate the general patterns of avoidance in these schools. The items are: "avoided sitting near some (other race) students"; "didn't attend a school event because a lot of (other race) students would attend it"; and "suggested or agreed with others that only (own race) kids be invited to something." Data on an index of avoidance, based on all seven items, are also presented.

Sitting Near Other Race. In all schools combined, 42 percent of the black students said they never avoided sitting near white students while 28 percent said they had done so once or twice, and 30 percent reported having avoided Whites in this way three or more times (see Table 4-1A). The overall figures for white students are very similar to those for Blacks--44 percent saying "never," 30 percent saying "once or twice," and 26 percent saying they had avoided sitting next to Blacks three or more times this semester.

While the average level for "sitting avoidance" was about the same for black and white students, there were much wider variations among schools for Whites than for Blacks. This type of avoidance was most common among Whites at School 10 where 86 percent of the white students said they had avoided sitting next to Blacks at least once or twice. At the other extreme was School 1, where 81 percent of white students said they had never avoided sitting near black students. (However, it must be remembered that, in view of the small number of black students at School 1, the occasions for possible avoidance were much fewer there than at other schools). A majority of white students in two other schools--Schools 2 and 11--said they had never avoided sitting next to Blacks while majorities of Whites in eight schools (including School 10, referred to above) reported doing this at least once or twice.

For black students, avoidance of sitting next to Whites at least once or twice ranged from a high of 73 percent at School 8 to lows of 46 and 48 percent at Schools 9 and 11. It is noteworthy that at School 10, where white students showed such a high level of avoidance, avoidance by black students was not unusually great, being at about the all-school average.

TABLE 4-1. AVOIDANCE OF OTHER-RACE STUDENTS, AS REPORTED BY STUDENTS[a]

A. "Avoided sitting near some (other race) students."

Black Students

(Percentages)

School	never this semester	once or twice	3 or more times
1.	47	35	18
2.	38	28	34
3.	45	28	27
4.	33	25	42
5.	39	30	32
6.	44	29	28
7.	38	30	32
8.	27	30	43
9.	53	23	23
10.	43	28	29
11.	52	27	21
12.	--	--	--
All Schools	42	28	30

White Students

School	never this semester	once or twice	3 or more times
1.	81	15	4
2.	58	22	20
3.	38	33	29
4.	43	31	26
5.	32	33	36
6.	35	32	33
7.	29	34	37
8.	[illegible]	33	30
9.	[illegible]	37	26
10.	14	39	47
11.	58	25	16
12.	--	--	--
All Schools	44	30	26

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[a] Question asked was: "...How often during this semester have you tried to avoid being with (other race) students in each of the ways listed below?"

(cont.) TABLE 4-1. AVOIDANCE OF OTHER-RACE STUDENTS, AS REPORTED BY STUDENTS[a]

B. "Didn't attend a school event because a lot of (other race) students would attend it."

Black Students

(Percentages)

School	never this semester	once or twice	3 or more times
1.	63	6	31
2.	58	13	28
3.	71	12	17
4.	55	17	28
5.	60	15	24
6.	72	13	15
7.	71	14	16
8.	61	11	28
9.	77	10	13
10.	79	6	16
11.	80	13	7
12.	--	--	--
All Schools	69	13	19

White Students

School	never this semester	once or twice	3 or more times
1.	--	--	--
2.	88	7	5
3.	82	11	8
4.	81	11	7
5.	68	19	14
6.	76	13	11
7.	60	19	22
8.	67	16	18
9.	69	15	16
10.	37	17	46
11.	60	24	15
12.	--	--	--
All Schools	71	15	14

(continued)

(cont.) TABLE 4-1. AVOIDANCE OF OTHER-RACE STUDENTS, AS REPORTED BY STUDENTS[a]

C. "Suggested or agreed with others that only (same race) kids be invited to something."

Black Students

(Percentages)

School	never this semester	once or twice	3 or more times
1.	67	7	27
2.	52	21	27
3.	69	11	20
4.	51	16	33
5.	66	12	22
6.	71	12	17
7.	63	15	22
8.	50	18	32
9.	69	14	18
10.	70	13	17
11.	71	17	12
12.	--	--	--
All Schools	64	15	21

White Students

School	never this semester	once or twice	3 or more times
1.	92	5	3
2.	80	10	10
3.	78	14	8
4.	75	12	13
5.	72	14	14
6.	78	12	10
7.	64	17	18
8.	72	12	15
9.	75	13	11
10.	60	9	31
11.	92	5	3
12.	--	--	--
All Schools	77	11	12

School Events. How often did students of each race stay away from a school event "because a lot of (other race) students would attend it"? For all schools combined, 69 percent of black students said they had never done this, while 13 percent said "once or twice" and 19 percent said they stayed away three or more times for this reason. (See Table 4-1B). White students reported a roughly equal amount of staying away from school events in order to avoid Blacks. Among all white students, 71 percent said they never did this, 15 percent said "once or twice" and 14 percent said they stayed away three or more times this semester.

White students at School 10 again (as with "sitting avoidance") showed the most avoidance of Blacks. Avoidance of school events was least frequent among white students at those schools (Schools 2, 3, and 4) which have the smallest proportions of Blacks. However, staying away from school events in order to avoid Blacks did not rise steadily as the proportion of Blacks increased. For example, in Schools 9 and 11, which had high proportions of black students, staying away from school events was roughly as frequent as in Schools 5 and 7, which had much smaller proportions of Blacks.

Among black students, variations among schools, again, were not as large as for white students, though there were some appreciable differences. Like Whites, black students were least likely to stay away from school events in order to avoid other-race students in those schools where the proportion of their own race was highest (for Blacks, Schools 9, 10, and 11). As with white students, too, however, there was not a consistent relation between racial proportion and staying away from school events.

Avoidance of school events among black students ranged from a high of 45 percent at School 4 who said they did this at least once or twice to lows of 22 percent and 20 percent at Schools 10 and 11. The relative infrequency of avoidance by black students at School 10 (which was 53 percent non-white at the start of the school year) was in striking contrast to the rather frequent avoidance by white students at the same school, already noted above.

Outside School Activities. We now look at some evidence of avoidance outside of school. How often did students say they had "suggested or agreed with others that only (own race) kids be invited to something"?

For all schools combined, large majorities of both black and white students said they had never done so during the present semester. The proportion of Whites saying they had never done this (77 percent) was somewhat higher than the comparable proportion of Blacks (64 percent). Eleven percent of all white students said they had tried once or twice to avoid inviting black kids to something and 12 percent said they had done this three or more times. Among all black students, 15 percent said they had done this once or twice and 21 percent said they had spoken three or more times against inviting Whites to something. (It should be noted that, both for black and white students, those who said they had never spoken against inviting other-race kids to something may not necessarily have been in favor of this; many may never have had the matter come up or may not have been consulted about whom to invite).

Looking at variations among schools, black students at Schools 2, 4, and 8 were most likely to say they had spoken against inviting Whites. About half of the black students answering in each of these schools reported doing this at least once or twice. Black students were least likely to say they had spoken against inviting Whites in School 11, where 29 percent said they had spoken against inviting Whites at least once or twice.

White students were least likely to report speaking against inviting Blacks at School 1 (where Blacks were fewest) and at School 11 (where Blacks were a majority). In each of these cases, 92 percent of white students said they had never done this. The greatest proportion of white students who said they had spoken against inviting Blacks was at School 10 (where other instances of avoidance among Whites also were frequent). At School 10, 40 percent of the white students said they had done this at least once or twice and, of these, the great majority (31 percent of the total) said they had spoken three or more times against inviting Blacks to something.

Index of Avoidance. Answers by each student on seven items concerning avoidance of other-race students (the three items discussed above plus four others) were combined into an avoidance index (see Appendix B for all items). Table 4-2 shows the mean scores on the index of avoidance by each school and each racial group. The rank order of schools on this index also is shown.

These data show that, among the ten schools in which comparable scores were available, the average avoidance scores of the two racial groups were roughly equal in six schools (3, 5, 6, 7, 9, and 11). The average avoidance scores of black students were appreciably higher than those of white students in three schools (2, 4, and 8). The avoidance score of Whites was considerably higher than that of Blacks in School 10.

Black students were most likely to avoid Whites in schools where black students were a numerical minority (e.g., Schools 2, 4, and 8). Black students were least likely to avoid white students in those schools where Blacks constituted the largest percentage of the student body (e.g., Schools 9, 10, and 11). White students tended to avoid Blacks most in schools where the Blacks were either a sizable minority (e.g., Schools 5, 6, 7, and 8) or a slight majority (School 10). White students tended to avoid black students least in those schools where the proportion of white students was highest (Schools 2, 3, and 4). In general, then, the minority group tended to avoid the majority group, while the majority group was not as likely to avoid the minority group. Avoidance tended to be least when the proportion of one's own race was highest.

It should be noted, however, that the rank order of avoidance did not follow this pattern in all cases. For example, the avoidance scores of black students at Schools 1 and 9 were very similar, despite the different racial compositions of these two schools. Also, at School 11, a predominantly black school, white students avoided black students less often than white students avoided Blacks at any other school.

TABLE 4-2.

SCORES ON INDEX OF AVOIDANCE OF OTHER-RACE STUDENTS BY SCHOOL AND RACE

School	Black Students		White Students	
	Mean Score[a]	Rank of School	Mean Score	Rank of School
1.	19.1	8	*	-
2.	25.4	3	16.3[†]	9
3.	19.5	7	16.6	8
4.	31.0	1	17.5	7
5.	23.4	4	22.1	2
6.	20.0	6	19.9	5
7.	22.2	5	21.2	3
8.	29.9	2	20.4	4
9.	17.6	9	18.4	6
10.	16.2	10	30.5	1
11.	14.3	11	13.1	10
All Schools	21.7		19.1	

[a] Higher mean score indicates more avoidance. Rank 1 indicates most avoidance.

[*] White students at School 1 were not asked questions on avoidance because of small number of black students in this school. Students at almost all-black School 12 also were not asked these questions.

[†] Only white freshmen were asked questions about avoidance at School 2.

Seeking Friendship

We have considered evidence that a majority of both black and white students sometimes try to avoid students of the other race. It is also possible that some students--including those who avoid some other-race students at certain times and places--may deliberately seek to make friends with those of the other race. We asked students how often during the present semester "I tried hard to make friends with (other race) students and succeeded" and how often "I tried hard to make friends with (other race) student(s) but they did not want to be friends."

For black students in all schools combined (see Tables 4-3A and 4-3B), two out of every three students said that they had tried to make friends with white students and had succeeded at least once or twice. Of this majority, the greater number (45 percent of all black students) said they had tried and succeeded three or more times. On the other hand, 21 percent of all black students indicated that they had tried to make friends with Whites but felt rebuffed three or more times and another 23 percent of Blacks said they had tried and been rebuffed once or twice.

For all white students, over three out of every four students answering this question said they had tried to make friends with black students and succeeded at least once or twice. Thirty percent said they had done this successfully once or twice and 47 percent said they had done so three or more times. Twenty-nine percent of all white students said they had tried to make friends with black students once or twice but had been rebuffed by black students. Twenty-four percent of the white students said this had happened three or more times.

In short, white students were more likely than black students were to report both successful attempts at making friendships across racial lines (77 vs 67 percent) and unsuccessful attempts to establish inter-racial friendships (53 vs 44 percent). Both groups reported more success than failure in their efforts to make friends across racial lines.

Variations among schools are more marked for white students than for Blacks. White students at School 10 (who we have noted were most likely to try to avoid black students) also were much more likely than Whites at other schools to say that they had tried to make friends with black students but that the Blacks did not want to be friends. However, the picture reported by Whites at School 10 was not completely negative since a large majority (88 percent) of Whites there also reported trying to make friends and succeeding at least once or twice. White students in School 11 also reported an above-average number of successful attempts to be friends with black students but, unlike the Whites at School 10, white students at School 11 reported a below-average number of attempts which they felt were rebuffed.

White students at School 1 were least likely to report either successful or unsuccessful attempts to make friends with Blacks, undoubtedly due largely to the small number of black students in that school. White students in School 5 were somewhat less likely than average to report successful attempts to make friends with black students. Whites at Schools 7 and 8 were more likely than Whites in most schools to say they had been rebuffed in attempts to make friends with Blacks, while Whites in School 3 were less likely than average to report rebuffs.

Among black students, the small number at School 1 were somewhat more likely than other Blacks to say they tried to make friends with Whites and succeeded. Black students at School 11 were least likely to report being rebuffed in attempts to make friends with Whites (73 percent saying this never happened); they were also somewhat less likely than average to report successful friendship attempts. Evidently, at this majority black school, (where, as we shall see, race relations were relatively good) black students had relatively little need to try hard to make friends with Whites.

TABLE 4-3 . SUCCESSFUL AND UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPTS TO MAKE FRIENDS WITH OTHER-RACE STUDENTS, AS REPORTED BY STUDENTS

A. "I tried hard to make friends with (other race) student(s) and succeeded."

Black Students

(Percentages)

School	never this semester	once or twice	3 or more times
1.	24	18	59
2.	33	16	51
3.	24	24	52
4.	37	22	41
5.	33	24	43
6.	31	20	49
7.	33	21	46
8.	42	19	39
9.	34	22	44
10.	26	22	52
11.	38	29	34
12.	--	--	--
All Schools	33	22	45

White Students

School	never this semester	once or twice	3 or more times
1.	33	40	27
2.	26	29	45
3.	25	32	43
4.	28	30	42
5.	31	36	33
6.	16	33	51
7.	20	23	57
8.	18	34	48
9.	15	22	64
10.	12	29	59
11.	19	24	58
12.	--	--	--
All Schools	23	30	47

(continued)

(cont.) TABLE 4-3. SUCCESSFUL AND UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPTS TO MAKE FRIENDS WITH OTHER-RACE STUDENTS, AS REPORTED BY STUDENTS

B. "I tried hard to make friends with (other race) student(s) but they did not want to be friends."

Black Students

(Percentages)

School	never this semester	once or twice	3 or more times
1.	65	18	18
2.	56	15	29
3.	54	27	19
4.	55	25	21
5.	56	23	21
6.	53	27	20
7.	56	26	19
8.	50	22	28
9.	59	20	22
10.	53	23	24
11.	73	17	10
12.	--	--	--
All Schools	57	23	21

White Students

School	never this semester	once or twice	3 or more times
1.	70	23	7
2.	50	33	17
3.	60	25	15
4.	44	35	21
5.	49	30	21
6.	42	34	24
7.	37	26	38
8.	31	31	38
9.	40	32	28
10.	22	18	60
11.	60	23	18
12.	--	--	--
All Schools	47	29	24

Friendly Behavior

When black and white students in the high schools did come into contact, how much and what kinds of friendly interaction did they experience? We asked students of both races about how often during the current semester they had had a variety of friendly interactions with other-race students. We will examine here the results concerning several key examples of these interactions--specifically, talking in a friendly way, doing things together outside of school, dating, doing school work together, and visiting each others' homes. For the last two items, we also have data concerning the relative frequency with which these friendly interactions occur _across_ racial lines as compared to _within_ racial groupings. Data on an index of friendly contact, summarizing ten types of friendly interaction, will also be presented.

Talking. We asked students of both races how often during the past semester any other-race students had "talked to you in a friendly way about school work." The same question also was asked about conversations "about things other than school work." As might be expected, those who reported frequent conversations about school work also tended to report frequent conversations about other things as well.

The data (Tables 4-4A and 4-4B) show that it is fairly unusual for students of either race to report never having experienced such friendly talk from other-race students. For all schools combined, only about one in eight students of either race said that he never had been involved in a cross-racial conversation about school work, and only one in ten students of either race said he never had been involved in such a conversation about things other than school work. However, about one-fourth of the students of each race (all schools combined) said that they had taken part in such friendly talks, on either school or non-school topics, only once or twice. Thus, over one-third of the students of each race appear to have engaged in very little or no friendly talking (i.e., "never" or "once or twice") with other-race students during the course of almost an entire semester.

TABLE 4-4. FREQUENCY OF SOME FRIENDLY INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER-RACE STUDENTS[a]

A. "Talked to you in a friendly way about school work."

Black Students

(Percentages)

School	never	once or twice	3-5 times	6-10 times	more than 10 times
1.	0	18	6	18	59
2.	18	27	20	12	23
3.	9	21	16	16	39
4.	10	24	19	14	33
5.	12	32	18	13	26
6.	11	25	14	18	32
7.	13	27	22	14	24
8.	20	36	16	13	16
9.	11	26	22	16	25
10.	12	21	21	15	31
11.	6	21	20	14	39
12.	--	--	--	--	--
All Schools	12	26	19	15	29

White Students

School	never	once or twice	3-5 times	6-10 times	more than 10 times
1.	--	--	--	--	--
2.	16	27	18	16	23
3.	16	26	22	14	22
4.	13	25	19	18	25
5.	22	28	17	14	20
6.	12	23	17	13	35
7.	10	24	21	16	28
8.	15	30	22	14	19
9.	8	21	16	18	36
10.	18	28	16	11	28
11.	4	10	9	11	66
12.	--	--	--	--	--
All Schools	13	24	18	15	31

(continued)

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[a] Question asked was: "Listed below are some ways in which students sometimes act toward one another. For each of these ways, please show how many times any (other race) students have acted that way toward you this semester."

(cont.) TABLE 4-4. FREQUENCY OF SOME FRIENDLY INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER-RACE STUDENTS[a]

B. "Talked to you in a friendly way about things other than school work."

Black Students

(Percentages)

School	never	once or twice	3-5 times	6-10 times	more than 10 times
1.	--	--	18	6	76
2.	12	24	16	21	27
3.	11	18	15	17	40
4.	9	21	19	15	36
5.	9	30	21	11	29
6.	11	24	13	16	36
7.	11	26	22	13	29
8.	11	33	21	15	20
9.	8	27	22	18	25
10.	12	25	21	15	27
11.	10	19	17	16	39
12.	--	--	--	--	--
All Schools	10	24	19	16	31

White Students

School	never	once or twice	3-5 times	6-10 times	more than 10 times
1.	--	--	--	--	--
2.	11	29	14	15	31
3.	16	22	19	16	27
4.	13	24	20	19	24
5.	17	29	13	19	21
6.	8	19	21	16	35
7.	6	31	18	14	31
8.	12	30	20	15	24
9.	6	24	16	19	36
10.	15	26	19	13	27
11.	3	11	10	11	66
12.	--	--	--	--	--
All Schools	10	24	17	16	33

(continued)

(cont.) TABLE 4-4. FREQUENCY OF SOME FRIENDLY INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER-RACE STUDENTS[a]

C. "Did things together with you outside of school."

Black Students

(Percentages)

School	never	once or twice	3-5 times	6 or more times
1.	13	19	13	56
2.	50	19	11	21
3.	54	19	8	20
4.	46	19	15	20
5.	57	15	12	17
6.	45	20	11	25
7.	51	22	10	17
8.	48	28	9	14
9.	52	19	8	21
10.	65	12	9	14
11.	45	23	9	22
12.	--	--	--	--
All Schools	51	20	10	20

White Students

School	never	once or twice	3-5 times	6 or more times
1.	--	--	--	--
2.	67	18	6	9
3.	64	18	9	10
4.	61	20	9	10
5.	69	20	5	7
6.	46	22	13	18
7.	55	19	11	15
8.	40	27	13	20
9.	53	22	8	17
10.	59	19	12	10
11.	20	20	11	49
12.	--	--	--	--
All Schools	54	20	10	17

(continued)

(cont.) TABLE 4-4. FREQUENCY OF SOME FRIENDLY INTERACTIONS WITH OTHER-RACE STUDENTS[a]

D. Thinking about your relations with (other race) students, how often during this semester has each of the following things happened?

..."I dated (other race) student(s)" during this semester.

Black Students

(Percentages)

School	never	once or twice	3 or more times
1.	69	0	31
2.	75	10	15
3.	73	15	12
4.	77	8	16
5.	82	10	9
6.	80	6	14
7.	81	9	11
8.	72	8	20
9.	75	8	17
10.	82	3	15
11.	82	11	8
12.	--	--	--
All Schools	78	9	13

White Students

School	never	once or twice	3 or more times
1.	97	1	1
2.	96	2	2
3.	94	2	4
4.	91	5	3
5.	95	2	4
6.	91	6	3
7.	92	2	6
8.	86	4	10
9.	90	3	7
10.	88	3	9
11.	79	10	11
12.	--	--	--
All Schools	92	4	5

Approximately another one-third of each racial group indicated occasional friendly talks with other-race students (either 3-5 times or 6-10 times during the semester). Finally, about 30 percent of the students of each race reported fairly frequent friendly conversations with other-race students about school work (more than ten times), and about the same proportion reported fairly frequent talks with other-race students about things other than school work. Overall, then, there is considerable variation among students of both races with respect to the frequency of friendly conversations with other-race students.

In general, individual schools did not differ greatly in the frequency of inter-racial conversations reported, but there are some interesting variations. Among black students, by far the highest frequency of inter-racial talking (about school work and, even more so, about non-school topics) was reported by the small number of black students at School 1. Undoubtedly, the fact that the great majority of their classmates were white plays a large part in this result. Reports of talks with white students also were more frequent than usual among black students at School 11 and less frequent than usual among black students at School 8.

Among white students, by far the greatest amount of inter-racial conversation (both concerning school work and concerning other things) was reported by students at School 11. In this school, about two out of three white students reported such friendly talks occurring more than ten times. The fewest friendly conversations with Blacks were reported by students at School 5, of whom about half said they had friendly talks with black students about school work and about non-school topics no more than once or twice during the semester. Also, white students at School 8 were somewhat less likely than average to report frequent friendly talks with black students.

Doing Things Outside School. To what extent do friendly relations across racial lines within school extend outside school hours? Students were asked how often this semester any other-race students "did things together with you outside of school." For all schools combined (see Table 4-4C), a slight majority both of black students and of white students reported that this had not happened that semester. Almost one-third of both black students and white students reported having done things together outside of school occasionally (up to five times). About another fifth of the students in each racial group said they had done this six or more times. Thus, the data indicate that informal inter-racial activities outside school are by no means unusual.

Looking at variations among schools, we note again that (as with reports of conversations) the small number of black students at School 1 were least likely (13 percent) to say that they had never done things outside school with white students and most likely (56 percent) to say that they had done so six or more times. Black students in School 10 were least likely to have done things outside school with white students. Aside from these schools, variations among black students across schools are not large.

Looking at variations among white students in different schools, again the variations across schools are generally not large. But again, white students in School 11 stand out as having a great amount of friendly contact with black students. Only 20 percent of Whites in this school said they had not done things outside school with black students that semester, while 49 percent reported having done things six times or more. White students in School 8 reported a slightly greater amount of inter-racial activity outside school than the average, while white students in School 5 were somewhat low in such contacts.

Dating. How often do black and white students date one another? Of black students in all schools combined, 78 percent said that they had never dated a white student during the semester then nearing its end. (See Table 4-4D). Nine percent of all black students said that they had dated a white student once or twice that semester and 13 percent said they had done so three or more times.

White students were less likely to report dating inter-racially than were black students. For all schools combined, 92 percent of white students said they had never dated Blacks, 4 percent said they had done so once or twice, and 5 percent said they had dated a black student three or more times. The fact that Whites reported inter-racial dating less often than did Blacks is undoubtedly related to the greater proportion of white students in most schools. If an equal number of students of each race dated students of the other race, the proportions of Blacks involved, of course, would be higher.

For both black students and white students, variations among schools in the amount of inter-racial dating reported are generally small. At School 1, where black students were a very small minority, black students most often reported dating white students; almost one in three said he or she had dated Whites three or more times, though 69 percent said they had never done so. The much larger number of white students at School 1 were, however, very unlikely to date Blacks, 97 percent saying they had never done so. Among white students, those at School 11 were slightly more likely than those at other schools to report dating Blacks. Eleven percent said they had dated Blacks three or more times, 10 percent said they had done so once or twice, and 79 percent said they had never done so.

Across Versus Within Race Interactions: Doing School Work. So far we have considered the frequency of certain types of inter-racial interaction without being able to compare these data with data concerning similar interaction within each racial group. While we do not have data on the relative amount of all kinds of friendly behavior within racial groups, as compared to between racial groups, we do have such comparable data for doing school work together and for home visits with other students. (See Tables 4-5A and 4-5B).

Let us look first at how often black students reported doing school work together with white students and with other black students. The data show that, in every school, a substantial majority of black students reported doing school work with Whites at some time. Overall, 40 percent said they had done school work with Whites three times or more. However, for all schools but one,

TABLE 4-5. FREQUENCY OF FRIENDLY INTERACTION WITH OTHER-RACE STUDENTS AND WITH SAME-RACE STUDENTS

A. Doing school work together.

Black Students (Percentages)

	With Other-Race Students			With Same-Race Students		
School	never	once or twice	3 or more times	never	once or twice	3 or more times
1.	25	13	63	22	17	61
2.	41	28	31	18	22	60
3.	29	29	42	15	21	65
4.	30	26	44	8	19	73
5.	40	26	34	11	22	68
6.	35	24	41	12	18	70
7.	28	28	43	9	18	74
8.	37	28	36	11	20	69
9.	27	29	43	11	18	71
10.	19	34	47	7	14	79
11.	36	26	38	4	13	83
12.	--	--	--	11	32	58
All Schools	32	28	40	10	19	70

White Students

	With Other-Race Students			With Same-Race Students		
School	never	once or twice	3 or more times	never	once or twice	3 or more times
1.	--	--	--	13	25	62
2.	45	28	27	6	17	77
3.	61	19	20	10	21	69
4.	47	28	26	8	20	73
5.	65	21	15	8	18	74
6.	47	26	27	8	13	79
7.	27	32	41	6	16	78
8.	40	27	33	11	20	70
9.	32	22	47	14	17	70
10.	37	28	35	9	9	83
11.	21	21	58	8	14	78
12.	--	--	--	--	--	--
All Schools	42	25	33	9	18	74

(continued)

(cont.) TABLE 4-5. FREQUENCY OF FRIENDLY INTERACTION WITH OTHER-RACE STUDENTS AND WITH SAME-RACE STUDENTS

B. Having students over to own home or visiting others' homes.

(Percentages)

Black Students

	With Other-Race Students			With Same-Race Students		
School	never	once or twice	3 or more times	never	once or twice	3 or more times
1.	38	6	56	11	17	72
2.	69	14	18	10	16	74
3.	64	15	21	11	12	77
4.	57	21	22	6	8	85
5.	62	20	18	7	10	83
6.	56	15	29	10	11	79
7.	59	20	21	8	18	74
8.	59	26	16	8	21	71
9.	61	16	22	13	13	74
10.	81	10	9	17	14	69
11.	58	15	27	6	11	84
12.	--	--	--	13	17	70
All Schools	62	17	21	9	14	77

White Students

	With Other-Race Students			With Same-Race Students		
School	never	once or twice	3 or more times	never	once or twice	3 or more times
1.	--	--	--	6	15	80
2.	86	9	6	5	8	87
3.	82	12	6	4	14	82
4.	74	15	11	7	13	80
5.	80	13	8	6	11	84
6.	61	24	15	5	5	90
7.	68	13	19	7	16	77
8.	69	15	17	13	18	69
9.	65	19	16	13	12	75
10.	85	9	6	18	20	62
11.	34	21	45	6	10	84
12.	--	--	--	--	--	--
All Schools	69	16	16	7	12	81

black students were more likely to do homework with other black students than with white students. For all schools combined, about two-thirds of the black students reported having done homework with Whites, as compared to nine of ten black students who said they had done homework with other Blacks. The one exception was School 1, where the small number of black students were about as inclined to do homework with Whites as they were with Blacks. Also, black students in School 10 were slightly more likely than Blacks in other schools to report doing school work with white students.

For white students, as for black, doing school work together with students of one's own race was far more common than doing so with other-race students. For all schools combined, 58 percent of white students said they had done school work together with Blacks as compared to 92 percent who had done such work with other Whites. It should be noted that a larger proportion of Whites than of Blacks (42 percent to 32 percent) reported never doing school work with other-race students. On the other hand (as with Blacks), a majority of white students reported having done school work with black students at least once during the semester and one-third said they had done so three or more times. As with other forms of friendly behavior, white students in School 11 indicated most often that they had done school work with Blacks. White students at School 7 were also more apt than the average to do school work with Blacks, while those at Schools 3 and 5 were least likely to do so.

Home Visits. Students were asked how many times during the present semester any other-race students had "visited your home or had you over to their home." They were asked an almost identical question concerning home visits with students of the same race.

The data (Table 4-5B) show, as expected, that for both races and for all schools, home visits were far more common between students of the same race than between those of different races. For all schools combined, 62 percent of black students and 69 percent of white students reported no such cross-racial home visits, while only 9 percent of Blacks and 7 percent of Whites reported no home visits with students of the same race. However, while this large difference is expectable, it is also noteworthy that 38 percent of black students and 32 percent of white students reported at least one such visit.

There are, again, some sizable differences among schools. As with other types of friendly interaction, the small number of Blacks at School 1 were most likely (62 percent) to report at least one inter-racial home visit. Black students at School 10 were especially unlikely to report such home visits (81 percent said "never"). Among white students, those at School 11 were most likely to report home visits (two-thirds reported at least one) and those at School 10 were least likely to report such visits.

Index of Friendly Behavior. For each student, an index score of friendly contact with other-race students was computed. This score is based on his responses to the six items discussed in this section plus four other items. Items were weighted according to the length of time and the degree of social intimacy implied by the friendly contact. For example, visiting the home of an other-race student was assigned a greater weight than a friendly talk in school. (See Appendix B for more detailed information about the construction of this index).

Table 4-6 shows the mean scores on the index of friendly inter-racial contact, by school and by race, as well as the rank order of schools. For black students, these summary data show that by far the greatest amount of friendly interaction with white students was experienced by Blacks at School 1. Black students at School 6 also scored high in friendly contacts, compared to black students at other schools. Blacks at Schools 10 and 8 scored lowest on the measure of friendly contact with white students.

Among white students, those at School 11 had by far the highest score on the overall index of friendly inter-racial contact. White students at Schools 5, 3, and 2 had the least amount of friendly contacts.

The data in Table 4-6 do not indicate that the amount of friendly inter-racial contacts reported by either race is related

TABLE 4-6.

SCORES ON INDEX OF FRIENDLY CONTACT WITH OTHER-RACE STUDENTS, BY SCHOOL AND RACE

	Black Students		White Students	
School	Mean Score[a]	Rank of School	Mean Score[a]	Rank of School
1.	96.8	1	*	-
2.	35.4	9	25.9[†]	8
3.	43.0	4	25.5	9
4.	42.1	5	28.5	7
5.	36.3	8	23.9	10
6.	50.2	2	34.7	3
7.	37.5	7	34.3	4
8.	33.5	10	34.0	5
9.	43.7	3	36.6	2
10.	33.1	11	30.4	6
11.	42.0	6	72.8	1
All Schools	40.8		35.4	

[a] Higher mean score indicates more friendly contact; rank 1 indicates most friendly contact.

[*] Index scores are not computed for School 1 Whites because not all items were asked of these students.

[†] Index scores are for freshmen Whites only at School 2.

in a consistent way to the ratio of black to white students in the school (a ratio that increases from School 1 through School 11). These data do suggest, however, that the relative amount of friendly contact varies with the racial composition of the school. In those schools, 2 through 6, where there was a substantial majority of white students, the average amount of friendly contact reported by black students was considerably greater than that reported by Whites. In Schools 7 through 10, which were generally more balanced in racial composition, the amount of friendly inter-racial contact reported by each racial group was more similar. In School 11, which was predominantly black, the white students reported more friendly contacts than did black students. Thus the relative amount of friendly contact experienced by the two racial groups appears to change as racial composition changes, with the minority having more friendly contacts than the majority.

Unfriendly Interaction

Having examined the frequency of various kinds of friendly relationships between black and white students, we now consider the frequency of unfriendly interaction. We asked students of each race how often any other-race students had taken a variety of unfriendly actions toward them and how often they had experienced various types of unfriendly interactions. We will consider in this section the frequency of several types of hostile interactions which are verbal and several types which go beyond words to physical fights or coercion.

Verbal Hostility.

We look first at three items which concern verbal hostility (see Table 4-7). Students were asked how often this semester any other-race students had 1) "talked to you in an unfriendly way"; 2) "called you bad names"; and 3) "threatened to hurt you in some way." The second of these items--being called bad names--was also asked about students of one's own race, so that intra-racial as well as inter-racial analyses can be made on that type of behavior.

TABLE 4-7. FREQUENCY OF SOME UNFRIENDLY VERBAL CONTACTS WITH OTHER-RACE STUDENTS, AS REPORTED BY STUDENTS[a]

A. "...Talked to you in an unfriendly way."

Black Students

(Percentages)

School	never	once or twice	3-5 times	6 or more times
1.	24	41	24	12
2.	27	45	14	14
3.	35	42	13	10
4.	33	35	13	18
5.	32	43	10	15
6.	43	32	12	14
7.	40	32	13	15
8.	40	36	9	16
9.	45	36	10	10
10.	57	24	8	12
11.	55	30	11	4
12.	--	--	--	--
All Schools	41	35	11	12

White Students

School	never	once or twice	3-5 times	6 or more times
1.	--	--	--	--
2.	20	38	13	29
3.	25	41	17	17
4.	19	41	15	26
5.	17	31	20	32
6.	14	24	18	45
7.	12	38	23	27
8.	17	41	14	28
9.	18	37	15	30
10.	18	24	11	47
11.	13	45	16	26
12.	--	--	--	--
All Schools	17	36	17	30

(continued)

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[a] Question asked was: " Listed below are some ways in which students sometimes act toward one another. For each of these ways, please show how many times any (other race) students have acted that way toward you this semester."

(cont.) TABLE 4-7. FREQUENCY OF SOME UNFRIENDLY VERBAL CONTACTS WITH OTHER-RACE STUDENTS, AS REPORTED BY STUDENTS[a]

B. "I was called a bad name."

Black Students

(Percentages)

	By Other-Race Students			By Same-Race Students*		
School	never	once or twice	3 or more times	never	once or twice	3 or more times
1.	35	29	35	67	22	11
2.	34	42	24	38	27	35
3.	49	38	12	41	31	29
4.	47	28	25	35	30	35
5.	46	30	25	37	39	24
6.	57	23	20	35	35	31
7.	48	29	23	35	33	32
8.	42	36	22	23	39	38
9.	52	28	20	35	33	31
10.	66	22	13	23	48	30
11.	66	23	11	37	31	32
12.	--	--	--	39	25	36
All Schools	51	29	20	36	33	32

White Students

	By Other-Race Students			By Same-Race Students		
School	never	once or twice	3 or more times	never	once or twice	3 or more times
1.	--	--	--	34	43	23
2.	29	33	38	33	41	26
3.	39	33	28	29	43	27
4.	31	33	36	35	42	23
5.	29	27	45	33	43	24
6.	21	26	54	34	35	31
7.	25	34	41	35	36	29
8.	26	35	39	35	42	23
9.	24	34	43	36	40	24
10.	22	22	56	27	30	43
11.	30	30	41	39	36	25
12.	--	--	--	--	--	--
All Schools	28	31	41	34	40	26

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* Data in this portion of table are taken from a parallel question concerning same-race students.

(continued)

(cont.) TABLE 4-7. FREQUENCY OF SOME UNFRIENDLY VERBAL CONTACTS WITH OTHER-RACE STUDENTS, AS REPORTED BY STUDENTS[a]

C. "Threatened you in some way."

Black Students

(Percentages)

School	never	once or twice	3 or more times
1.	82	18	0
2.	81	13	6
3.	79	15	6
4.	81	9	10
5.	79	10	10
6.	90	7	4
7.	85	8	7
8.	74	15	11
9.	84	12	4
10.	85	9	6
11.	90	4	6
12.	--	--	--
All Schools	84	10	[illegible]

White Students

School	never	once or twice	3 or more times
1.	--	--	--
2.	53	28	19
3.	65	22	13
4.	54	28	19
5.	49	25	25
6.	38	30	32
7.	46	32	22
8.	49	24	27
9.	46	30	24
10.	30	24	46
11.	45	34	21
12.	--	--	--
All Schools	49	28	24

With regard to unfriendly talk by white students, 41 percent of black students (in all schools combined) said this had never happened that semester, while 35 percent said it had happened once or twice, and 23 percent said white students had spoken to them in an unfriendly way three or more times. White students were more likely to report being talked to in an unfriendly way by black students. Seventeen percent of all white students said that this had never happened, while 36 percent said it had happened once or twice, and 47 percent said that some black students had talked to them in an unfriendly way three or more times.

Being called bad names was reported less frequently than the more general matter of unfriendly talk (see Table 4-7B). The frequency of reported name-calling within each racial group was about the same, with about two out of every three students of each race saying that they had been called a bad name by someone of their own race at least once or twice. However, black students were less likely to report being called names by white students than vice-versa. For black students in all schools combined, 51 percent said they had not been called bad names by white students that semester, 29 percent said this had happened once or twice, and 20 percent said it had happened three or more times. Twenty-eight percent of all Whites said they had not been called bad names by Blacks that semester, 31 percent said it had happened once or twice, and 41 percent reported this occurring three or more times.

Black students were more likely to report being called bad names by students of their own race than by white students. Thus, about one in three black students reported being called bad names three or more times by other black students as compared to one in five who reported the same treatment by white students. However, the comparative picture is different for white students. While white students were slightly more likely to report being called bad names once or twice by other Whites than by Blacks, they were more apt to report frequent name-calling (three or more times) by Blacks than by other Whites (41 to 26 percent).

Threats to hurt a person were reported least frequently of the three types of verbal hostility (see Table 4-7C). As with other verbal hostilities, white students were more likely to say that black students had threatened them than vice versa. For black students in all schools combined, 84 percent said they had never been threatened by any white students that semester, 10 percent said this happened once or twice, and 7 percent said it happened three or more times. Among all white students, about half said that no black student(s) had ever threatened them that semester, over one-fourth (28 percent) said this had happened once or twice, and about another fourth (24 percent) said that black students had threatened three or more times.

Among black students, reports of verbal hostility by Whites--specifically, unfriendly talk and being called bad names (but not threats)--were most frequent in the schools where the proportion of Blacks was lowest and were least frequent where the percentage of Blacks was highest. Thus, the proportion of black students who said they had ever been called bad names by white students was about two out of three at predominantly white Schools 1 and 2, was roughly one in two at Schools 3 through 9, and was about one in three at Schools 10 and 11. While there was a general tendency for Blacks to report more verbal hostility where they were in smaller proportions, there was not a uniform relationship between percentage of Blacks and verbal hostility. Thus, for example, School 4 and School 7 differ appreciably in racial composition but Blacks in both schools report about the same amount of name-calling by white students.

Among white students, reported verbal hostility from black students did not vary in any clear fashion with the proportion of Whites in a school.[1] White students in School 10 and School 6 were more likely than Whites at other schools to report verbal hostility from black students. White students at School 3 were least likely to report such verbal hostility. Thus, for example, twice as many white students at School 10 as at School 3 (56 to 28 percent) reported being called bad names by Blacks three or more times and about three and a half times as many Whites at School 10 as at School 3 (46 to 13 percent) reported being threatened three or more times by black students.

Physical Aggression

In addition to questions about verbal aggression from other students, we asked each student how often during that semester each of the following things had happened to him or her: (1) "I was pushed or hit...but decided not to push or hit back"; (2) "I was pushed or hit...and pushed or hit back"; (3) "I got so mad... that I pushed or hit that person first"; (4) another student "tried to force (me) to give money"; and (5) "I was forced to give money to (other) student(s)." All of these questions were asked specifically with reference to interactions with other-race students. Items 2 and 3 also were asked with respect to fights with students of the same race.

Fighting. The data on fighting show that about two out of three students of both races (65 percent of Blacks and 69 percent of Whites) reported that they had never been in a situation where they had been struck by an other-race student and retaliated (see Table 4-8A). Among black students (all schools combined), 16 percent said this had happened once or twice and 19 percent said it occurred three or more times. The comparable reports from Whites were 18 percent (happened once or twice) and 13 percent (three or more times). For all schools combined, the frequency of incidents in which a student was pushed or hit and retaliated was about the same across racial lines as within each racial group.

When we look at students' reports of physical violence by other-race students to which they did not retaliate (Table 4-8B), black and white responses are not as similar as with respect to reciprocated violence. While majorities of both racial groups said

TABLE 4-8. STUDENTS' REPORTS OF FREQUENCY OF FIGHTING WITH OTHER-RACE AND SAME-RACE STUDENTS: INITIATED BY OTHER AND RECIPROCATED; INITIATED BY OTHER AND NOT RECIPROCATED; AND INITIATED BY SELF.

A. "I was pushed or hit by (other race) (same race) student(s) and pushed or hit back."

Black Students

(Percentages)

	Fought Other-Race Students			Fought Same-Race Students		
School	never	once or twice	3 or more times	never	once or twice	3 or more times
1.	47	24	29	61	28	11
2.	44	21	36	45	27	29
3.	64	21	15	69	16	15
4.	59	20	21	56	19	25
5.	62	15	23	61	22	17
6.	70	13	17	64	17	19
7.	68	15	17	57	28	16
8.	50	19	31	52	22	26
9.	73	12	15	53	23	24
10.	64	19	18	58	14	28
11.	83	10	7	64	22	14
12.	--	--	--	71	17	13
All Schools	65	16	19	59	22	19

White Students

	Fought Other-Race Students			Fought Same-Race Students		
School	never	once or twice	3 or more times	never	once or twice	3 or more times
1.	--	--	--	68	21	11
2.	63	26	12	64	21	16
3.	77	14	9	59	22	19
4.	73	16	11	64	18	18
5.	73	13	14	74	17	10
6.	69	21	11	67	18	15
7.	66	16	18	60	19	21
8.	66	19	15	61	20	19
9.	66	19	15	62	23	15
10.	44	31	24	45	24	31
11.	76	14	10	70	18	12
12.	--	--	--	--	--	--
All Schools	69	18	13	64	20	16

(continued)

(cont.) TABLE 4-8. STUDENTS' REPORTS OF FREQUENCY OF FIGHTING WITH OTHER-RACE AND SAME-RACE STUDENTS

B. "I was pushed or hit by (other race) student(s) but decided not to push or hit back."

Black Students

(Percentages)

School	never this semester	once or twice	3 or more times
1.	71	12	18
2.	72	13	15
3.	77	8	15
4.	80	10	10
5.	82	7	11
6.	86	8	6
7.	85	6	10
8.	67	12	21
9.	78	9	14
10.	77	11	12
11.	88	8	4
12.	--	--	--
All Schools	80	9	11

White Students

School	never this semester	once or twice	3 or more times
1.	--	--	--
2.	60	21	19
3.	73	16	11
4.	75	16	9
5.	58	24	18
6.	44	29	28
7.	70	17	13
8.	60	23	17
9.	56	29	15
10.	28	26	46
11.	58	27	15
12.	--	--	--
All Schools	60	23	17

(continued)

(cont.) TABLE 4-8. STUDENTS' REPORTS OF FREQUENCY OF FIGHTING WITH OTHER-RACE AND SAME-RACE STUDENTS

C. "I got so mad at (other race) (same race) student(s) that I hit or pushed that person first."

Black Students

(Percentages)

	Hit Other-Race Students			Hit Same-Race Students		
School	never	once or twice	3 or more times	never	once or twice	3 or more times
1.	65	24	12	83	17	0
2.	48	21	32	52	22	26
3.	70	17	13	68	20	13
4.	57	19	24	69	12	19
5.	67	19	14	66	20	14
6.	74	11	16	72	14	14
7.	62	22	16	63	20	17
8.	51	25	24	53	17	30
9.	74	11	15	66	19	15
10.	64	18	18	66	2	32
11.	83	9	8	75	19	6
12.	--	--	--	77	13	10
All Schools	66	17	17	67	18	16

White Students

	Hit Other-Race Students			Hit Same-Race Students		
School	never	once or twice	3 or more times	never	once or twice	3 or more times
1.	--	--	--	84	12	4
2.	88	5	7	77	15	8
3.	90	5	6	77	15	9
4.	83	9	8	77	12	11
5.	93	3	5	84	11	6
6.	93	5	2	79	12	9
7.	80	11	10	76	10	14
8.	80	9	11	72	13	15
9.	83	9	8	77	17	7
10.	80	7	13	61	19	21
11.	87	7	5	80	13	8
12.	--	--	--	--	--	--
All Schools	86	7	7	78	13	9

that such unreciprocated violence had never occurred during that semester, white students were more likely to report them. Twenty-three percent of all white students and 9 percent of all black students said that this had occurred once or twice. Seventeen percent of all Whites and 11 percent of all Blacks said they had been pushed or hit three or more times by students of the other race without striking back. Thus, in general, white students were somewhat more likely than were Blacks to report submission to physical violence by students of the other race.

It is interesting to note that students of both races are aware of the greater physical submission by Whites. In answer to a question concerning whether students of one race were more able than those of the other race to do certain things in school, 45 percent of all white students said that black students were more able to "push students of the other race without the other race fighting back," while only 5 percent of all Whites thought that Whites were more able to do this. (The rest thought that both races were equally able to do this or that neither was able to do it). Responses of black students to this question are very similar. Forty-five percent thought their own race was more able to attack without retaliation while 9 percent thought Whites were more able to do this.

Large majorities of students of both races say that they never struck an other-race student first (Table 4-8C), but black students were somewhat more likely than white students to report striking first. Thirty-four percent of all black students and 14 percent of all Whites said they had done this at least once or twice.

Comparisons between "first strikes" within one's own racial group and across racial lines are instructive. Black students were as likely to strike first at other black students as they were to strike at white students. White students were somewhat more likely to strike first at someone of their own race than they were to attack black students. White students were also somewhat less likely to say they had struck first at other Whites than black students were to say they had struck first at other Blacks. Thus, the greater frequency of Blacks striking first at Whites than vice-versa (at least as reported) appears to reflect a) among black students, a somewhat greater general level of such "first strikes," regardless of the race of the target; and b) among Whites, a lower level of attacks on black students than on other white students.

Extortion. Relatively small percentages of black students reported that any white students had tried to force them to give money during that semester (see Table 4-9A). Five percent of all Blacks said this had happened once or twice, and six percent said it had happened three or more times. However, a majority (58 percent) of all white students reported that Blacks had tried to force them to give money at least once during that semester.

However, reports of actually being forced by other-race students to give money were only somewhat more frequent among white students. Ten percent of all black students said they had been forced by Whites to give money at least once. Eighteen percent of white students said they had been forced by Blacks to give money at least once.

Thus, on the average, white students were much more likely than Blacks were to report attempts at extortion by other-race students, but Whites were only slightly more likely than Blacks to indicate they had actually given money to other-race students. The large difference between the proportion of Whites who said that Blacks had tried to force them to give money and the proportion who reported actually giving money under duress may stem from several sources. Undoubtedly, some white students actively resisted actual extortion attempts. However, in view of the evidence already discussed that white students were less likely than black students to fight back when pushed or hit, it seems unlikely that this explanation alone is sufficient. It seems probable that at least some of the actions which white students reported as attempts to "force you to give money" were not actually extortion attempts. Some were probably

TABLE 4-9. STUDENTS' REPORTS OF FREQUENCY OF ATTEMPTS BY OTHER-RACE STUDENTS TO FORCE THEM TO GIVE MONEY AND FREQUENCY OF SUCCESSFUL ATTEMPTS.

A. "How many times (this semester have) any (other race) students... tried to force you to give money?"

Black Students

(Percentages)

School	never this semester	once or twice	3 or more times
1.	88	12	0
2.	89	4	7
3.	90	6	4
4.	85	8	6
5.	89	4	7
6.	90	7	4
7.	89	5	6
8.	81	8	11
9.	91	5	5
10.	91	3	6
11.	95	3	3
12.	--	--	--
All Schools	89	5	6

White Students

School	never this semester	once or twice	3 or more times
1.	--	--	--
2.	51	21	28
3.	65	16	19
4.	46	23	31
5.	41	25	35
6.	30	23	48
7.	40	24	36
8.	34	29	37
9.	33	28	38
10.	36	18	46
11.	41	29	31
12.	--	--	--
All Schools	42	24	34

(continued)

(cont.) TABLE 4-9. STUDENTS' REPORTS OF FREQUENCY OF ATTEMPTS BY OTHER-RACE STUDENTS TO FORCE THEM TO GIVE MONEY

B. "I was forced to give money to (other race) students."

Black Students

(Percentages)

School	never this semester	once or twice	3 or more times
1.	100	--	--
2.	84	5	12
3.	91	2	7
4.	91	3	6
5.	91	2	8
6.	94	2	5
7.	95	2	3
8.	82	3	15
9.	88	3	10
10.	86	5	9
11.	97	1	2
12.	--	--	--
All Schools	91	3	7

White Students

School	never this semester	once or twice	3 or more times
1.	--	--	--
2.	85	8	8
3.	89	9	3
4.	85	10	6
5.	84	10	6
6.	77	16	7
7.	85	9	6
8.	77	10	13
9.	79	14	7
10.	74	11	15
11.	84	13	4
12.	--	--	--
All Schools	82	11	7

requests for money--perhaps persistent requests--which the white student interpreted (perhaps incorrectly) as involving the threat of force if the request were not met. Whatever the frequency with which actual extortion attempts did occur, however, the fact that a majority of white students perceived attempts by Blacks to force them to give money is clearly a significant fact in itself.

Looking at variations in reports of physical hostility (fighting and extortion), there were several schools in which black students were most likely to report hostile actions by Whites and several schools--but mostly different ones--in which Whites were most likely to report hostile actions by Blacks. Black students in School 8 were more likely than most Blacks to report attacks by Whites (both reciprocated and unreciprocated) and also somewhat more likely than most Blacks to say they had been forced by Whites to give money. Black students in Schools 1 and 2 were also more likely than the average black student to say that they had been pushed or hit by Whites. In addition, Blacks in School 2 were more likely than average to say that they hit or pushed Whites first. Black students in School 11 were least likely to report being involved in any type of physical hostility with white students.

White students in School 10 were much more likely than other Whites to report attacks by black students (both ones which they reciprocated and those which they did not reciprocate). White students in School 10 also were somewhat more likely than the average White both to say that black students had tried to force them to give money and that they had actually given money under duress. White students at School 6 were also more likely than average to report attacks by Blacks to which they did not retaliate and attempts by black students to force them to give money. White students at School 8 were slightly more likely than average to say that they had been forced to give money to Blacks, making School 8 the only school in which successful extortion by both races was reported to be above average. The least amount of hostile behavior from

Blacks was reported by white students at School 3, where both unreciprocated attacks and coercive attempts to get money were reported relatively infrequently by Whites. White students at School 4 also reported attacks by Blacks to which they did not retaliate slightly less often than average.

Indices of Unfriendly Interaction.

For each student, two indices summarizing his unfriendly interactions were computed. The first index, Total Amount of Unfriendly Contacts with Other-Race Students, includes seven of the items discussed above, plus four additional types of unfriendly contacts. The more extreme unfriendly interactions experienced--e.g., "tried to force you to give money"--were given twice as much weight as less extreme behaviors--e.g., "talked to you in an unfriendly way." Most of the items in this index are concerned with unfriendly behavior by other students which the student reports experiencing. Therefore, the total index does not necessarily reflect the amount of unfriendly action which the student himself initiated, or which he took an active part in sustaining. For this purpose, an index of Own Unfriendly Behavior Toward Other-Race Students was computed. This index is based on three items: 1) "I got into an argument with (other race) students only using words"; 2) "I was pushed or hit by (other race) student(s) and pushed or hit back"; and 3) "I got so mad at (other race) student(s) that I pushed or hit that person first."

The average scores on the two indices of students in each school, by race, are shown in Table 4-10. This table also shows the rank order of the schools. Scores on the total index of unfriendly inter-racial contacts show, first, that in all ten of the schools where students of both races answered these questions, white students reported experiencing a greater amount of unfriendly inter-racial contacts than did black students.

Among black students, those in Schools 8 and 2 reported the greatest total amount of unfriendly experiences with Whites.

TABLE 4-10.

SCORES ON INDICES OF UNFRIENDLY INTERACTION WITH OTHER RACE, BY SCHOOL AND RACE

	Total Unfriendly Contacts				Own Unfriendly Actions			
	Black Students		White Students		Black Students		White Students	
School	Mean Score[a]	Rank of School	Mean Score[a]	Rank of School	Mean Score[a]	Rank of School	Mean Score[a]	Rank of School
1.	10.6	6	*	*	10.5	3	*	*
2.	13.0	2	18.1†	7	12.9	2	8.2†	2
3.	9.8	8	12.1	10	7.8	10	6.1	10
4.	11.8	5	16.4	8	10.1	4	6.7	7
5.	11.9	4	18.9	4	9.2	6	6.9	6
6.	10.3	7	23.5	2	9.2	7	6.5	8
7.	12.1	3	18.8	6	9.8	5	8.2	3
8.	13.4	1	18.9	5	13.1	1	7.2	5
9.	9.7	9	19.2	3	8.9	8	7.2	4
10.	8.9	10	30.5	1	8.3	9	9.9	1
11.	7.0	11	14.7	9	6.0	11	6.5	9
All Schools	10.6		18.6		9.4		7.1	

[a] Higher mean score indicates more unfriendly behavior. Rank 1 indicates most unfriendly behavior.

* White students at School 1 were not asked questions about unfriendly contacts, because of small number of black students at this school. Students at almost all black School 12 also were not asked these questions.

† Among white students at School 2, only freshmen were asked relevant questions.

Black students at School 11 reported the smallest amount of unfriendly contact with Whites and black students at School 10 also reported relatively few unfriendly experiences with white students.

Among white students, on the other hand, the greatest total of unfriendly experiences with black students was reported by Whites at School 10. White students at School 6 also reported a relatively large number of unfriendly experiences with black students, while white students at School 3 and School 11 reported the smallest total amount of unfriendly contact.

With respect to the index of own unfriendly behavior, black students had higher average scores than Whites (indicating more unfriendly behavior initiated or reciprocated) in eight of ten schools where scores on this index were available. In seven of the eight schools where black scores were higher than white scores, black students were a numerical minority. The two schools where white scores were higher were Schools 10 and 11, where white students were in the minority.

Comparing black students in various schools, those in School 8 and School 2 reported the greatest amount of unfriendly behavior initiated or reciprocated by themselves. White students at School 2 and School 7 were also high in reports of their own unfriendly behavior toward Blacks, ranking below only Whites at School 10. The smallest amounts of self-initiated or self-sustained unfriendly behavior, both for black students and for white students was reported by students at School 3 and School 11.

General Description of Inter-Racial Contacts

In the previous sections of this chapter, we have examined evidence showing both positive and negative aspects of interaction between black and white students. There was evidence of much interracial avoidance, but also of much seeking of friendship; evidence of much friendly interaction, but also much that is unfriendly.

It is of interest, therefore, to see how students of both races describe their overall relationships with students of the other race.

First, we asked each student, "In general, how friendly were most of your contacts with (other race) students in this school before this semester?" The data (Table 4-11A) show that, for all schools combined, just over half of the students of each race characterized their inter-racial contacts as either "very friendly" or "pretty friendly." About one student in three of each race said that his inter-racial contacts were "not especially friendly and not especially unfriendly." Only six percent of black students and nine percent of white students generally pictured their inter-racial contacts in previous semesters as either "pretty unfriendly" or "very unfriendly." (Five percent of all Blacks and four percent of all Whites said they had no contacts with other-race students).

We also asked students a second general question about their relationships with students of the other race. Whereas the first question concerned the period prior to the present semester, this second question was applicable to their entire stay at this school. The question asked about "...what kind of experiences...you have usually had with (other race) people...at this high school." The answers to this question are generally consistent with answers about race relations before the current semester in that only a small minority of students of either race (though slightly more Whites) described their inter-racial contacts as generally unfriendly. For all schools combined, one in every four black students and about the same proportion of white students said their contacts with students of the other race were, in general, "very friendly." Almost six in every ten students of each race described their cross-racial contacts throughout their high school careers as "fairly friendly." Ten percent of the black students and 16 percent of the white students described their overall inter-racial contacts as unfriendly, a slightly higher percentage

TABLE 4-11. STUDENTS' GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF OWN INTERRACIAL CONTACTS

A. "In general, how friendly were most of your contacts with (other race) students in this school before this semester?"

Black Students

(Percentages)

School	"very friendly" or "pretty friendly"	"not especially friendly and not especially unfriendly"	"pretty unfriendly" or "very unfriendly"	no contact with other race
1.	78	22	0	0
2.	49	36	9	6
3.	58	37	4	1
4.	51	39	6	5
5.	41	43	11	6
6.	57	33	7	4
7.	49	39	7	6
8.	46	43	7	4
9.	60	32	3	4
10.	45	34	12	9
11.	63	31	3	3
12.	--	--	--	--
All Schools	54	36	6	5

(continued)

(cont.) TABLE 4-11. STUDENTS' GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF OWN INTERRACIAL CONTACTS

A. "In general, how friendly were most of your contacts with (other race) students in this school before this semester?"

White Students

(Percentages)

School	"very friendly" or "pretty friendly"	"not especially friendly and not especially unfriendly"	"pretty unfriendly" or "very unfriendly"	no contact with other race
1.	67	24	3	7
2.	52	37	7	5
3.	55	31	11	4
4.	44	41	12	3
5.	41	39	16	4
6.	48	39	11	2
7.	54	34	8	4
8.	54	34	10	3
9.	49	41	9	1
10.	32	42	20	7
11.	76	19	3	2
12.	--	--	--	--
All Schools	53	34	9	4

(continued)

(cont.) TABLE 4-11. STUDENTS' GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF OWN INTERRACIAL CONTACTS

B. "Please show what kind of experiences (if any) you have usually had with (other race) people...at this high school."

Black Students

(Percentages)

School	"very friendly"	"fairly friendly"	"not too friendly" or "unfriendly"	question does not apply[a]
1.	43	50	7	0
2.	22	55	20	3
3.	24	65	7	4
4.	23	62	13	3
5.	13	69	14	3
6.	33	56	7	3
7.	22	64	11	3
8.	19	62	12	7
9.	33	59	6	2
10.	22	61	13	4
11.	35	58	5	2
12.	25	32	5	38
All Schools	25	59	10	6

(continued)

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[a] Most students checking "does not apply" had indicated in response to a previous question that they had not gotten to know any other-race people while in high school.

(cont.) TABLE 4-11. STUDENTS' GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF OWN INTERRACIAL CONTACTS

B. "Please show what kind of experiences (if any) you have usually had with (other race) people...at this high school."

White Students

(Percentages)

School	"very friendly"	"fairly friendly"	"not too friendly" or "unfriendly"	question does not apply[a]
1.	40	44	9	7
2.	19	58	14	8
3.	25	64	10	1
4.	18	62	18	2
5.	13	63	24	1
6.	18	56	23	3
7.	19	64	17	0
8.	12	61	23	4
9.	26	58	15	1
10.	17	53	27	4
11.	46	46	3	5
12.	--	--	--	--
All Schools	23	57	16	4

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[a] Most students checking "does not apply" had indicated in response to a previous question that they had not gotten to know any other-race people while in high school.

than did so on the question about the period before this semester. This is probably due to a difference in the response categories provided for the two questions: the question concerning the student's entire high school career does not have the "neutral" response category of "not especially friendly and not especially unfriendly."

Looking at comparisons among schools, we find that, on both general questions, black students at School 1 were most likely to characterize their relationships with Whites as friendly. Black students at School 5, while still having only a small minority reporting generally unfriendly relations, were least likely, on both general questions, to characterize their inter-racial contacts as definitely friendly. Black students at School 2 were more likely than average to describe their overall inter-racial experiences in high school as "not too friendly" or "unfriendly" (20 percent giving these answers).

Among white students, those at School 1 and School 11 were most likely, on both questions, to characterize their relationships with black students as generally friendly. White students at School 10 and School 5 were least likely to describe their contacts with Blacks as definitely friendly although, even at these schools, only minorities of about one-fifth to one-fourth of Whites said definitely that these contacts were not friendly.

It is interesting to note that those schools in which students described their inter-racial experiences as most positive, in response to the general questions, are schools in which students' answers about specific items of behavior were also most positive; conversely, general descriptions of race relations which are relatively negative are consistent with more negative patterns of response to specific items of behavior, as reported above.

There is evidence from answers to another general question (not reported in detail here) that inter-racial experiences generally improved during the course of the school year. In every school (with one minor exception), a greater proportion of the students of both races described race relations in their school as "good" during the second semester than during the first semester. The reported improvement was particularly dramatic in School 10, although our data on various types of interaction indicate that conditions in School 10 were still generally more negative than average during the second semester. A great improvement in race relations during the year was also reported by students of both races in School 9. This reported improvement there coincided with a change in the school principal, though it cannot be established to what extent these changes were causally connected.

The reported trend in almost all schools toward improved race relations during the year is consistent with the comments of some teachers and administrators that there is often a "shake down" period early in the school year during which students of different races learn to adjust to one another.

Changes in Opinions about Other-Race People

In previous sections of this chapter, we have examined the ways in which black and white students act toward each other and their general descriptions of this contact. In this section, we will look at reports by black and by white students of changes in their opinions of the other race since attending their particular high school.

Prior Opinion. We asked each student who took the questionnaire, "In general, what was your opinion of most (other race) people just before you came to this high school?"

For black students in all schools combined, 42 percent said they had a good opinion of white people prior to their attendance at their present high school, 29 percent said they had a poor opinion, and 30 percent said they had no real opinion of white people (see Table 4-12A). In 11 of the 12 school sites, there were more black students who reported having had either a "good" or a "pretty good" opinion of white people than those who had a poor opinion of Whites (either "not too good" or "not good at all").

Results for white students parallel those for Blacks in that, in 11 out of the 12 school sites, there were more white students who said that they had a good opinion of black people prior to attending their present school than those who said they had a poor opinion at that time. The proportions of white students saying they had a good opinion of Blacks were generally higher than the comparable figures for black students, reaching a majority of white students in 6 of the 12 school sites. For white students in all schools combined, 54 percent reported a good opinion of Blacks prior to attending their present school, 30 percent reported a poor opinion of black people, and 16 percent said they had no real opinion at that time. The percentage of those reporting no prior opinion is much smaller for white students than for black students.

There were some differences among schools in the prior opinions reported by students, especially for white students. White students at Schools 11 and 1 were more likely than Whites in other schools to say that they had a good opinion of black people prior to coming to high school. White students at School 10 were the most likely to say they had a poor opinion of black people prior to attending high school. Black students were much more consistent across schools in their opinions of Whites prior to high school. Only the Blacks in School 1 deviated much from the average figures. A high percentage of that small group said their prior opinions of Whites were good. Black students in School 2 were slightly more likely than average (39 percent in that school) to say that they did not have a good opinion of Whites prior to coming to that school.

Change in Opinion. Each student also was asked: "Since coming to this school, has your opinion of most (other race) people gotten worse, gotten better, or stayed the same?" Students were asked to check one of the following answers: gotten much better; gotten a little better; stayed about the same; gotten a little worse; gotten a lot worse. Table 4-12B shows the answers given by students to this question, separately for each race in each school.

Looking first at the answers of black students, we see that in every one of the twelve school sites there were substantial proportions of black students, ranging from 30 percent to 50 percent (averaging 41 percent for all schools) who said that their opinion of white people had not changed since coming to this school. But there were also in every school site substantial proportions--ranging from 35 percent to 55 percent and averaging 44 percent--who said that their opinions of Whites had changed for the better. Moreover, in every school site there were substantially more black students who reported a change for the better in their opinions of Whites than those who reported a change for the worse. For all school sites combined, black students whose opinions of Whites changed for the better outnumbered those whose opinions changed for the worse by almost three to one (44 percent to 15 percent).

The predominant change toward more favorable opinions of Whites was found at the essentially all-black School 12 as well as at racially integrated schools, although the ratio of favorable to unfavorable change at School 12 was not as large as the average for Blacks in all schools. The movement toward favorable change in School 12 cautions us, however, that some part of the opinion change in integrated schools may be due to experiences outside the school.

For white students, as for black students, there are sizable proportions in each school--ranging from 20 percent to 52 percent--who said that their opinions of people of the other race had not changed since attending their school. For all schools combined, 38 percent of white students said their opinions had not changed--a figure close to that for black students. Moreoever, as with Blacks, the proportion of Whites who said their opinions had improved (36 percent) was larger than the proportion who said their opinions had changed for the worse (27 percent)--though the

TABLE 4-12. STUDENTS' OPINIONS ABOUT OTHER-RACE PEOPLE

A. "In general, what was your opinion of most (other race) people just before you came to this high school?"

(Percentages)

Black Students

School	"good" or "pretty good"	"not too good" or "not good at all"	"had no real opinion of them"
1.	72	22	6
2.	33	39	28
3.	35	31	34
4.	37	35	27
5.	43	28	29
6.	44	28	28
7.	43	27	31
8.	46	34	21
9.	44	21	35
10.	39	33	28
11.	49	23	29
12.	38	18	41
All Schools	42	29	30

White Students

School	"good" or "pretty good"	"not too good" or "not good at all"	"had no real opinion of them"
1.	65	22	13
2.	57	29	14
3.	42	32	25
4.	48	31	21
5.	49	35	16
6.	54	33	14
7.	48	34	18
8.	54	28	18
9.	55	32	13
10.	41	44	16
11.	73	17	10
12.	--	--	--
All Schools	54	30	16

(continued)

(cont.) TABLE 4-12. STUDENTS' OPINIONS ABOUT OTHER-RACE PEOPLE

B. "Since coming to this school, has your opinion of most (other race) people gotten worse, gotten better, or stayed the same?"

Black Students

(Percentages)

School	Better[a]	Same	Worse[a]
1.	39	44	17
2.	49	33	19
3.	55	30	14
4.	36	39	25
5.	37	41	22
6.	43	41	16
7.	45	43	12
8.	47	39	14
9.	49	42	9
10.	50	42	9
11.	41	50	10
12.	35	46	19
All Schools	44	41	15

White Students

School	Better[a]	Same	Worse[a]
1.	38	52	9
2.	28	43	29
3.	48	35	18
4.	35	43	22
5.	25	25	50
6.	29	20	51
7.	40	37	24
8.	36	38	26
9.	43	36	22
10.	43	26	31
11.	38	50	12
12.	--	--	--
All Schools	36	38	27

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[a] Better category includes "gotten much better" and "gotten a little better." Worse category includes "gotten a lot worse" and "gotten a little worse."

overall ratio of favorable to unfavorable change was smaller for Whites than for Blacks. In eight of the eleven school sites at which there were substantial numbers of Whites, there were larger proportions of white students reporting an opinion change for the better than for the worse. In several schools, the ratio of favorable to unfavorable change was large--especially the 38 to 9 ratio at School 1, the 38 to 12 ratio at School 11, and the 48 to 18 ratio at School 3. In five other schools, the ratio of favorable to unfavorable changes among white students was lower but still substantial.

In School 2 the proportion of white students who reported their opinions of black students had gotten worse was about equal to the percentage who said their opinions had gotten better (29 to 28 percent), and in two schools there were roughly twice as many white students whose opinions changed for the worse rather than the better. In these latter two schools (Schools 5 and 6), 50 percent and 51 percent of the white students, respectively, said their opinions of Blacks got worse since they attended their high schools. The results concerning changes in white students' opinions of black people since coming to high school show, then, wide variations among schools, with predominantly favorable changes in opinions toward Blacks in most schools but predominantly unfavorable changes in two schools.

Profiles of Different Schools

At many points in this chapter we have made comparisons among schools with respect to specific types of behavior by students and with respect to a number of indices which summarize some of these data. Now we take an overall view of the differences among schools. What are the overall profiles of the different schools with respect to race relations?

Table 4-13 shows how students of each race in each school ranked on each overall index of inter-racial interaction and on opinion change, compared to students of the same race in other schools. The table also shows, for each school, how black students scored compared to white students in the same school on each overall measure of inter-racial behavior and opinion.

These data show that black students sought and had most friendly contacts with white students at School 1, where Blacks were a small minority (one percent). But Blacks there also experienced a moderate total amount of unfriendly contact with Whites and were about average in their own involvement in unfriendly contacts.

School 11, the predominantly black, mostly academic school (at that time), stands out as having had the most positive relations between the races. Both black and white students were very low in avoidance of other-race students and in unfriendly contacts with other-race students, compared to students at other schools. White students at School 11 ranked highest in friendly contacts with Blacks, although the numerically larger black group there was only average in amount of friendly contact with white students and less concerned than Whites with making inter-racial friendships.

Another school that stands out as having had generally positive race relations is the predominantly white School 3. In this school, both black and white students reported relatively little unfriendly contact. Blacks at School 3 also reported a relatively high amount of friendly contact with Whites and ranked high in seeking friendship with Whites. The numerically larger white group in School 3 was less likely than Blacks to seek inter-racial friendship and to have friendly inter-racial contact, but they were less likely than Whites in most other schools to try to avoid Blacks. Both races in School 3 ranked high in favorable change in opinion toward the other race.

Schools 2 and 5 stand out as having, overall, the least positive pattern of relationships between the races. (At School 2, the reader will recall, there was a substantial minority of black students only in the freshman class and, therefore, most data from

TABLE 4-13. RANK ORDER OF SCHOOLS,* SEPARATELY BY RACE, ON INDICES OF INTERRACIAL INTERACTION AND ON OPINION CHANGE, ALONG WITH INDICATION OF RELATIVE MAGNITUDE OF SCORES OF EACH RACE

	Total																	
	Avoidance			Seeking Friendship			Friendly Contact			Unfriendly Contacts			Own Unfriendly Acts			Change in Opinion		
School	Bl		Wh	Bl		Wh	Bl		Wh	Bl		Wh	Bl		Wh	Bl		Wh
1.	8		-	1	B>W	11	1		-	6		-	3		-	8	B≈W	3
2.	3	B>W	9	4	little B>W	8	9	B>W	8	2	B<W	7	2	B>W	2	9	B<W	9
3.	7	little B>W	8	3	B>W	10	4	B>W	9	8	little B<W	10	10	little B>W	10	1.5	little B<W	2
4.	1	B>W	7	8	B≈W	7	5	B>W	7	5	B<W	8	4	B>W	7	12	B≈W	7
5.	4	B≈W	2	9	little B>W	9	8	B>W	10	4	B<W	4	6	B>W	6	10	B<W	11
6.	6	B≈W	5	5	B≈W	6	2	B>W	3	7	B<W	2	7	B>W	8	4	B<W	10
7.	5	B≈W	3	10	B<W	2	7	B≈W	4	3	B<W	6	5	little B>W	3	6	little B<W	5

(continued)

(cont.) TABLE 4-13. RANK ORDER OF SCHOOLS,* SEPARATELY BY RACE, ON INDICES OF INTERRACIAL INTERACTION AND ON OPINION CHANGE, ALONG WITH INDICATION OF RELATIVE MAGNITUDE OF SCORES OF EACH RACE

School	Avoidance			Seeking Friendship			Friendly Contact			Unfriendly Contacts			Own Unfriendly Acts			Change in Opinion		
	Bl		Wh	Bl		Wh	Bl		Wh	Bl		Wh	Bl		Wh	Bl		Wh
8.	2	B>W	4	7	little B<W	4	10	B≈W	5	1	B<W	5	1	B>W	5	7	little B<W	8
9.	9	B≈W	6	6	little B<W	3	3	little B>W	2	9	B<W	3	8	little B>W	4	3	little B<W	4
10.	10	B<W	1	2	B<W	1	11	B≈W	6	10	much B<W	1	9	little B<W	1	1.5	B<W	6
11.	11	B≈W	10	11	B<W	5	6	B<W	1	11	B<W	9	11	B≈W	9	5	B≈W	1
12.	-		-	-		-	-		-	-		-	-		-	11		-

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*Rank 1 indicates greatest amount of given behavior. Rank 1 on opinion change indicates most favorable change.

KEY - > means greater than, < means less than; ≈ means approximately equal
"little" means that difference between Blacks and Whites is little
"much" means that difference between Blacks and Whites is much

Whites were obtained only from freshmen). Black students at School 2 were more likely than Blacks at most other schools, and more likely than Whites at their own school, to try to avoid inter-racial contact. Students of both races reported relatively few friendly inter-racial contacts. Black students at School 2 reported experiencing more unfriendly contact with other-race students than did Blacks at most other schools (though fewer than the Whites in their own school reported) and both black and white students reported initiating, or being actively involved in, an above-average amount of unfriendly action toward other-race students. Both black and white students in School 2 reported less favorable change in opinion toward people of the other race than did students at most other schools.

At School 5, which had 27 percent black students, both black and white students were above average in trying to avoid students of the other race. Students of both races were below average in seeking friendship with students of the other race and in reports of friendly inter-racial contacts. This was particularly true of white students, who reported less friendly inter-racial contact than white students at any other school and less than Blacks at their own school. Students of both races at School 5 were also slightly above average in experiencing unfriendly contact with other-race students, and students of both races reported less-than-average favorable change in opinion toward the other race. White students at School 5 were one of two white student bodies which had more negative than positive opinion change toward Blacks while in high school.

School 10--the racially balanced and geographically separate freshman class of the all-black school--presents a primarily negative picture of race relations but one that is very different and more negative for white than for black students. While black students at School 10 indicated relatively little effort to avoid Whites, the white students in this school were more anxious than

Whites at any other school to avoid Blacks. Blacks and Whites in School 10 reported about an equal amount of friendly inter-racial contact, but while this amount was about average for Whites in all schools, it represented the fewest friendly inter-racial contacts for Blacks in any school. White students at School 10 were more likely than those in any other school to report unfriendly contacts with black students (a much greater amount of unfriendly contact than Blacks reported experiencing). White students at School 10 were also more likely than those at any other school to report initiating or taking an active part in unfriendly inter-racial contacts (though slightly less often than the black students reported taking similar actions). Despite the high level of attempted avoidance of Blacks by white students, and the high level of unfriendly contacts with Blacks reported by Whites, black students at School 10 reported a more favorable change in opinion toward white students than Blacks at any other school. White students at School 10, who started with a relatively unfavorable opinion of Blacks, were about average in opinion change (in a favorable direction on balance).

Other schools--Schools 4, 6, 7, 8, and 9--show more average patterns of race relations, though differing among themselves in many ways. The profile of each of these schools will not be discussed here, although the interested reader may wish to study these profiles, in Table 4-13, in more detail.

Relationship Among Types of Interaction

We have, in this chapter, considered a variety of types of interaction between black and white students as well as changes in opinion of the other race. How are these various kinds of outcomes related to one another? Are students who are high with respect to one kind of behavior--say, in friendly contact--also consistently high, or consistently low, in other respects--say in avoidance?

To answer these questions, we computed within each school, separately for black students and for white students, measures of the degree of association (correlation) among indices of various types of behavior (avoidance, friendly interaction, etc.) reported by students. After the correlation between any two indices was computed within each of 11 schools, the median of these correlations was determined. These median correlations, showing the "typical" amount of association among indices of inter-racial interaction within a school, are shown in Table 4-14. This table also shows the median correlations between the indices of interaction and the measure of change in opinion about the other race.

In general, these data show only moderate or small associations among the various kinds of inter-racial behavior and opinion. The largest correlations were between the two measures of unfriendly interaction, which reflects the fact that one of these indices (of own unfriendly actions) is based on a subset of the items composing the other index (total unfriendly contact). There were moderate positive correlations (median from .35 to .44) among students of both races between the index of avoidance and the two indices of unfriendly interaction; modest positive correlations (medians .30 and .34) between friendly contact and seeking friendship with other-race students; and modest correlations (medians .25 and .33) between avoidance of other-race students and less favorable change in opinion about people of this race.

Median correlations among other indices of interaction are small. It is especially noteworthy that the median correlations between the index of friendly inter-racial contact and the indices of unfriendly contact were close to zero--i.e., typically one cannot predict the level of a student's friendly contacts from the level of his unfriendly contacts, or vice versa. Inspection of these associations within the individual schools shows this was essentially true for each school--though in some cases there were small associations in one direction or another.

TABLE 4-14. MEDIAN CORRELATIONS WITHIN ELEVEN SCHOOLS AMONG INDICES OF INTERRACIAL INTERACTION AND OPINION CHANGE

(Data for black students are above in each case; data for white students are beneath in parentheses)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1. Avoidance of other-race students	X					
2. Friendly contact with other-race students	-.08 (-.13)	X				
3. Total unfriendly contacts with other-race students	.42 (.44)	.04 (-.03)	X			
4. Own unfriendly actions toward other-race students	.44 (.35)	.01 (.07)	.71 (.54)	X		
5. Seeking friendship with other-race students	.09 (.03)	.30 (.34)	.17 (.12)	.23 (.19)	X	
6. Change in opinion of other race (single question)*	.25 (.33)	-.12 (-.25)	.12 (.28)	.13 (.14)	-.17 (-.13)	X

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*Higher score for opinion change indicates less favorable change.

Summary

Much data have been presented in this chapter and many specific things said. How may it all be summarized?

First, let us consider the positive aspects of the relationships which were found between black and white students. While clearly there was not as much friendly contact across as within racial groups, a majority of both races reported some types of friendly contacts with students of the other race during the then-current semester. For example: about two-thirds of the students of each race reported having friendly conversations with students of the other race three or more times; about two-thirds of Blacks and over one-third of Whites said they had done school work with an other-race student at least once or twice; about half of the students of each race reported doing things outside of school together with other-race students; and roughly a third of each racial group said that they had visited the home of a student of the other race or that such a student had visited their homes. Data such as these indicate that, despite barriers to friendly contact which may exist, much friendly contact did occur between students of different races who attended the same high school. Moreover, large majorities of the students of both races said that they had made some effort to make friends with other-race students--and about two-thirds of the Blacks and three-quarters of the Whites felt that at least some of these efforts had been successful. Black students generally reported somewhat more friendly contacts with white students than vice versa.

While much friendly contact occurred between the races, there was much to report on the negative side as well. First, a large number of students of each race tried at times to avoid contact with students of the other race. For example, more than half of each racial group reported some attempt to avoid sitting next to other-race students and almost one-third of each racial group said they stayed away from at least one school event because they felt too many other-race students would be there. Overall, black students tried to avoid Whites slightly more than the reverse.

Sizable proportions of both races reported unfriendly contacts with other-race students. White students were more likely to report that black students acted in an unfriendly way toward them than vice versa. This was true both with respect to verbal hostility--e.g., being called bad names--and with respect to actual or threatened physical hostility.

With respect to physical hostility, Whites were less likely than Blacks to say that they had initiated physical violence with (pushed or hit first) someone of the other race. Whites were more likely than Blacks to report that someone of the other race had tried to force them to give money, and a majority of white students said this happened at least once during the semester about which we asked.

For three items of unfriendly contact, comparisons are possible between unfriendly interaction within each racial group as compared to the interaction across racial lines. Black students reported unfriendly contacts (being called bad names, getting into a fight, and hitting another student first) as often or more often with students of their own race as with Whites. Similarly, white students reported getting into fights slightly more often with students of their own race than with Blacks. White students also were less likely to hit first at black students than at white students. Thus, the greater frequency with which Whites reported physical attacks by Blacks than vice versa does not result from the Blacks directing more of their physical aggression against Whites than against other black students. It appears, instead, to result from: a) the Whites directing less of their own physical aggression against Blacks than against their own racial group; and b) a slightly higher overall level of physical hostility by Blacks than by Whites.

Similarly, the greater frequency with which Whites reported being called names by Blacks than vice versa does not result primarily from a greater propensity of Blacks to direct name-calling at Whites than at their own racial group (although there is some difference in this direction). It results, rather, mainly from the fact that Whites are less likely to call Blacks names than they are to call other Whites names.

It should be noted, too, that for the three items on which there are comparable data, differences between the amount of unfriendly behavior occurring across, as compared to within, racial groups were not large. Thus, while patterns of unfriendly interaction were not random with respect to race, the amount of unfriendly contact between black and white students looms less large when seen in the context of the "normal" level of friction among schoolmates of the same race.

With evidence of much friendly contact between the races and also evidence of much avoidance and much unfriendly contact, what is the net impact on students? For individual students within each school, the amount of friendly inter-racial contact and the amount of unfriendly inter-racial contact are typically independent of one another. Students who have little friendly inter-racial contact and those who have much friendly contact are equally likely to have unfriendly contacts. In other words, students of both races are likely to have a mixed experience with other-race students--some positive and some negative. However, a large majority of both races characterized their overall race relations in high school as "very friendly" or "fairly friendly." And while about one-third of each racial group gave a neutral response about their inter-racial experiences before the present semester ("not especially friendly and not especially unfriendly"), only 10 percent of all black students and 16 percent of all white students described their overall high school contacts with other-race students as either "not too friendly" or "unfriendly." In addition, more students of both races changed their opinion of other-race people for the better than changed for the worse since coming to high school.

The overall picture these data present, then, is that most students have mixed experiences in their high school with students of the other race, but that the overall result is experienced by most students as fairly friendly contact and is more likely to result in positive than negative opinion change. However, the experiences which students report and the impact upon them differ widely not only within schools but also among schools. The different schools present varying profiles of black-white relations. There may be much of both friendly and unfriendly inter-racial contact, little of both, or much of one and little of the other.

The relative amount of friendly inter-racial contact experienced by Blacks, as compared to that experienced by Whites, seemed to be related to the proportions of the two races in the schools. In schools where Blacks were a fairly small minority, black students reported more seeking of friendship with Whites and more actual friendly contact with Whites than vice versa. In schools where racial proportions were more balanced, Whites equalled or exceeded Blacks in seeking cross-racial friendships and both racial groups reported about an equal amount of friendly inter-racial contact. In the one racially integrated school where Blacks were a clear majority, Whites sought friendship more often than did Blacks and Whites reported more friendly inter-racial contacts.

Regardless of the racial composition of the school, however, white students reported experiencing more unfriendly behavior by black students than vice versa. In most schools where Blacks were a minority, black students reported more unfriendly behavior by themselves toward white students than the white students reported toward Blacks. However, in the few schools where Whites were a minority, there was a tendency for the Whites to report as much or more unfriendly behavior toward Blacks as the reverse.

Students of both races tended to avoid those of the other race least in schools where they themselves were a large majority, with the conspicuous exception of School 11, where a minority of Whites showed very little avoidance of Blacks. Schools 11 and 3 had the most positive overall pattern of relationships between the races, while Schools 2 and 5 presented the least favorable overall picture. School 10 also showed a relatively unfavorable pattern, but white students at this school reported much less favorable experiences with, and opinions toward the other race, than did black students there. As with individuals, the amount of friendly inter-racial interaction for a school as a whole was fairly independent of the amount of unfriendly interaction at that school.

Chapter 5. Factors Related to Variations in Race Relations Among Schools

Introduction

In this chapter, we will report the results of a school-level analysis of some determinants of inter-racial interaction. By "school-level analysis" we mean that we will examine possible determinants of inter-racial interaction to see which ones are associated with the variations in race relations we reported among the various schools in the previous chapter.

Before we actually present the data, let us establish a few points regarding the measures which will be employed and the interpretations which will be made. First, we will examine 234 possible determinants of inter-racial interaction. These factors do not exhaust the list of possible determinants. However, we have selected variables which pertain to a wide variety of matters including school administrators (e.g., their disciplinary strictness), the teachers (e.g., their racial composition), the students as individuals (e.g., their ethnocentrism), the students' families (e.g., their parents' educations), and other aspects of the students' backgrounds (e.g., their grade school experiences). We believe this list is more extensive than most others the reader would find in the social science literature, and we believe it includes variables which pertain to most of the forces which can affect students' behavior.

Second, some of the possible determinants were measured by single items in the student questionnaire (e.g., the item concerning the length of time it took students to travel to school in the morning). Other variables were measured by means of multiple-item indices (e.g., the measure concerning students' racial ethnocentrism). The specific items that were used will be either mentioned in the text or referenced in Appendix B.

Third, in terms of the inter-racial interactions themselves, we will focus on the three types of contact that were summarized at the end of Chapter 4, namely avoidance, friendliness, and unfriendliness. The data presented in Chapter 4 indicate that the items we have used to construct our indices are meaningful and that inter-racial behavior varies across as well as within school lines. Moreover, the indices of inter-racial interaction are multiple-item rather than single-item measures. This fact increases the possibility that the measures are reasonably comprehensive. Finally, we have made deliberate efforts to construct indices which reflect the various forms that any one type of behavior can take (i.e., we have included items reflecting "casual" as well as "intimate" friendliness, "verbal" as well as "physical" unfriendliness, and "routine" as well as "extraordinary" avoidance). These observations should give the reader confidence that the patterns we will report are based on careful measurement, thus increasing the likelihood that they reflect the "real situation" to a considerable degree.

Our analysis will allow us to draw some conclusions about the associations between certain "independent" variables (e.g., neighborhood racial composition) and certain "dependent" variables (e.g., friendly inter-racial interaction). That is, we will be able to indicate which "background" variables seem to predict students' social behavior. To adopt this strategy of analyses implies an assumption that the independent variables can be viewed as possible "causes" of the variations which appear on the dependent variables. This assumption seems reasonable in regard to those variables which we will consider independent. For example, it is reasonable to think of "parental attitudes about other-race people" as being prior to and possibly causally related to student patterns of inter-racial interaction. Most readers would agree it is reasonable to hypothesize that friendly inter-racial interaction is most likely to occur in those schools where parental attitudes tend to support such behavior.

However, two precautionary observations must be made at the outset. The correlation coefficients we will report in this chapter indicate the association between variables; they do not necessarily indicate that the independent variables actually cause the variation in the dependent variable. In other words, while we assume it is reasonable to treat each independent variable as a possible cause, we do not assume that positive correlation coefficients necessarily demonstrate the existence of any causal connections between the independent and dependent variables. Rather, we assume only that positive coefficients indicate that when a certain condition exists (e.g., inter-racial friendliness), another condition also tends to be present (e.g., parental norms favoring such interaction). While the independent variable may cause some of the variation in the dependent variable, it is also possible that the positive relationship between these variables is spurious (i.e., these variables may be related to each other only because each is linked with some third variable). In short, we will treat each independent variable as a possible and reasonable cause of students' interaction patterns, but we also will be careful not to assume that an association shows a causal relation.

Our second precautionary observation has to do with the assumed causal direction of the relationship between any independent and dependent variables (when a causal link is postulated). In many cases, determining which variable is most likely to "cause" the other will not be problematic. For example, while students' inter-racial interaction at school may be a product of nearby neighborhood racial composition, it is not as likely that the racial composition of students' neighborhoods is a function of their inter-racial interaction at schools. But, in some other cases, the direction of the relationship could be the opposite of that assumed by our analysis plan. For example, we will report a positive relationship between the percentage of white students riding buses to school and white students' tendencies toward unfriendly interaction with black students at school. One might assume that taking a bus to school "causes" white unfriendliness toward Blacks. However, one also could argue the opposite case--that the white students who are most likely to be bused come from those social groups which have tended in the past to be unfriendly with other-race students. When such "reverse" interpretations seem most reasonable, we will try to alert the reader to them.

A final word about interpreting the correlation coefficients which we will report: As we noted above, a coefficient indicates the extent to which there is association between any two variables. This coefficient can vary from - 1.0 to + 1.0. A coefficient of - 1.0 means that when one pattern of behavior or condition exists, the other is always absent. A coefficient of + 1.0 means that when one condition exists, so does the other. A coefficient of .00 means that the absence or presence of one pattern has no association with (does not predict) the absence or presence of the other. Since ± 1.0 coefficients are extremely rare in social science research, it is best to think in terms of the following propositions: (a) the more the coefficient approximates - 1.0, the more the independent variable predicts the absence of the dependent variable, and (b) the more the coefficient approximates + 1.0, the more the independent variable predicts the presence of the dependent variable.

To better interpret the degree of association, one should square the correlation coefficient. This procedure yields a figure which indicates the percent of variance in one variable (e.g., unfriendliness) which is explained by the other variable (e.g., the racial composition of students' neighborhoods). In the discussion of the data, we will highlight those coefficients which exceed .70 and therefore indicate independent variables which explain at least 50 percent of the variance in the dependent variables. The use of .70 as our cutting point allows us to separate those factors which we are most confident have genuine (non-spurious) associations with inter-racial behavior from those about which we have less confidence. These variables will be described as "strongly" or "highly" related to the dependent variables. However, to make sure that we present the data in their most accurate and complete form, we also will report those factors which explain between one-quarter and one-half of the variance in the dependent variables (i.e., those having correlations of .50 to .70). Relationships of this magnitude will be described as "moderate." This step increases the probability that we have acknowledged all the factors which stand a reasonable chance of being truly "significant."[1] In addition, we will report all correlations, regardless of their magnitude, in the tables scattered throughout the chapter. With these observations in mind, let us proceed to examine the data.

Avoidance

Home Situation. Two home factors were associated strongly with black students' avoidance of white students (see Table 5-1). Both of these factors concerned parents' racial attitudes. The data indicated that black avoidance was most common in schools where black parents in particular (i.e., "black parents") and parents generally (i.e., "school average") had the most unfavorable attitudes about other-race people. None of the 24 home factors were related strongly to the amount of avoidance reported by white students.

Three other home factors had moderate associations with the average amount of black avoidance in a school. Black avoidance was most common in schools where white parents harbored negative attitudes about black people; where black students were least likely to come from families headed by both a father and a mother; and where the difference between the proportions of black and white students coming from "broken families" was the largest. One factor was related to white students' avoidance of Blacks. White avoidance occurred most often in schools where white parents had the most negative attitudes about black people.

TABLE 5-1. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INTER-RACIAL AVOIDANCE AND TWENTY-FOUR HOME SITUATION FACTORS (CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS)

	Avoidance	
Home Situation Factors*	Black Students	White Students
Parents' Education (less-more)		
1. Black parents	-.17	-.35
2. White parents	-.46	-.37
3. Black-white difference	-.44	-.49
4. School average	-.36	-.31
Parents' Attitudes about Other Race (unfavorable-favorable)		
1. Black parents	-.72	-.00
2. White parents	-.55	-.51
3. Black-white difference	-.27	+.40
4. School average	-.81	-.15
Parental Concern about Students' Schoolwork (less-more)		
1. Black parents	-.07	+.10
2. White parents	-.11	+.11
3. Black-white difference	-.06	-.09
4. School average	-.26	+.21
Parental Concern about Students' Futures (less-more)		
1. Black parents	+.03	-.23
2. White parents	-.15	-.07
3. Black-white difference	+.33	-.35
4. School average	-.47	-.16
Family Size (small-large)		
1. Black families	+.36	+.28
2. White families	+.10	-.02
3. Black-white difference	+.28	+.28
4. School average	-.07	+.26
Family Structure (both parents present)		
1. Black families	-.69	-.28
2. White families	-.34	-.04
3. Black-white difference	+.58	+.31
4. School average	-.10	-.32

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*The words in parentheses indicate the direction of the independent variable's relationship to the dependent variable in each table. For example, the parents' education index runs from "less" education to "more" education.

Neighborhood and Grade School. None of the neighborhood and grade school factors were associated strongly with black avoidance. However, two factors were related strongly to differences across schools in white avoidance. Both of these factors concerned the mode of students' transportation to school each morning. White avoidance of black students was most common in those schools where white students were most likely to ride school buses and where the difference between the percentages of black and white students riding buses to school was the largest.

One factor--friendly inter-racial experiences outside high school--had a moderate association with black students' avoidance of Whites. Black avoidance was most common at schools enrolling white students who reported having the least friendly inter-racial experiences outside of high school. Six additional factors were related to white avoidance of Blacks. One of these factors--the percentage of black students riding school buses--was positively related to white avoidance (i.e., the greater the proportion of Blacks coming to school by bus, the greater the avoidance by Whites). The other five factors were negatively related to white avoidance of black students. White avoidance of black students increased as: (a) the percentage of white students taking less than 15 minutes to get to school in the morning decreased; (b) the difference in the racial segregation of black and white students' neighborhoods diminished; (c) black students reported having least friendly contacts with Whites in grade school; (d) black students reported having least extensive contacts with Whites outside high school generally; and (e) black students in particular and students generally reported having the least friendly contacts with the other race outside of high school.

TABLE 5-2. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INTER-RACIAL AVOIDANCE AND FORTY FACTORS CONCERNING STUDENTS' NEIGHBORHOODS AND GRADE SCHOOLS (CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS)

	Avoidance	
Neighborhood and Grade School Factors	Black Students	White Students
NEIGHBORHOOD FACTORS		
Amount of Time to get to School in Morning (% less than 15 minutes)		
1. Black students	-.31	+.38
2. White students	+.17	-.68
3. Black-white difference	+.13	-.22
4. School average	+.14	-.40
Racial Composition of Neighborhood (% in segregated neighborhoods)		
1. Black students	-.15	+.49
2. White students	+.44	+.25
3. Black-white difference	-.02	-.65
4. School average	+.25	+.21
Mode of Transportation to School (% taking school bus)		
1. Black students	-.02	+.59
2. White students	-.30	+.86
3. Black-white difference	-.33	+.87
4. School average	+.14	+.27
Amount and Nature of Inter-racial Contact in Neighborhood (more unfriendly-more friendly)		
1. Black students	+.07	-.39
2. White students	-.36	-.39
3. Black-white difference	-.20	-.37
4. School average	-.16	-.40
GRADE SCHOOL FACTORS		
Opportunity for Inter-racial Contact (less-more)		
1. Black students	+.18	-.35
2. White students	-.14	-.23
3. Black-white difference	+.11	+.06
4. School average	+.18	-.26
Amount and Nature of Inter-racial Contact in Grade School (more unfriendly-more friendly)		
1. Black students	+.05	-.56
2. White students	-.28	-.04
3. Black-white difference	-.19	+.14
4. School average	-.06	-.15

TABLE 5-2. (cont.) RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INTER-RACIAL AVOIDANCE AND FORTY FACTORS CONCERNING STUDENTS' NEIGHBORHOODS AND GRADE SCHOOLS (CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS)

	Avoidance	
Neighborhood and Grade School Factors	Black Students	White Students
GENERAL FACTORS		
Amount of Inter-racial Contact Outside High School Generally (less-more)		
1. Black students	+.03	-.53
2. White students	-.33	-.25
3. Black-white difference	+.13	-.18
4. School average	-.23	-.24
Nature of Contact Outside High School Generally (unfriendly-friendly)		
1. Black students	-.21	-.55
2. White students	-.66	-.42
3. Black-white difference	-.25	+.34
4. School average	-.12	-.52
Age When First Met Other-Race Person (% before 10 years)		
1. Black students	-.02	-.09
2. White students	+.15	-.29
3. Black-white difference	-.32	+.15
4. School average	+.13	-.24
Other-Race Friends before High School (% having none)		
1. Black students	-.19	+.11
2. White students	+.12	-.01
3. Black-white difference	-.04	-.03
4. School average	-.04	-.03

Student Characteristics. None of the more personal characteristics was related strongly to the average level of black avoidance in these schools. However, two student characteristics were highly related to white avoidance of black students. White avoidance was most common in schools where white students seemed most preoccupied with presumed faults of black students. White avoidance also was most common in schools where black and white students' inter-racial attitudes prior to high school were most similar.

Three other factors seemed to foster black avoidance of Whites. Black avoidance increased as the extent of racial ethnocentrism among black students increased. Black avoidance also increased as black students' involvement in unfriendly interactions with students of their own race increased. Another factor which was related to black avoidance concerned the extent to which black students were preoccupied with presumed faults of white students. Black avoidance was most common where black preoccupation with the presumed faults of Whites was least pronounced.

In regard to white avoidance of Blacks, ten variables had moderate associations (correlations between .50 and .70) with the average level of white avoidance. Two of these factors concerned students' opinions of the other race prior to enrollment in high school. The data indicated that white avoidance increased as the proportion of white students in particular and the proportion of the students generally with positive inter-racial attitudes before high school decreased. Three other relevant factors pertained to the students' satisfaction with several aspects of their daily lives. White avoidance was most common in schools where black and white students, separately and collectively, seemed most satisfied with their life circumstances. Three additional factors had to do with students' participation in extra-curricular activities. White avoidance was most common in those schools where black and white students, separately and combined, were least involved in school clubs and activities. White avoidance increased also as the general

TABLE 5-3. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INTER-RACIAL AVOIDANCE AND TWENTY-EIGHT CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STUDENTS (CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS)

	Avoidance	
Student Characteristics	Black Students	White Students
Opinions of Other Race before High School (unfavorable-favorable)		
1. Black students	-.33	+.03
2. White students	-.27	-.67
3. Black-white difference	-.16	-.76
4. School average	-.08	-.65
Satisfaction with Life Circumstances (less-more)		
1. Black students	-.04	+.52
2. White students	+.05	+.51
3. Black-white difference	-.13	+.35
4. School average	+.08	+.65
Racial Ethnocentrism (less-more)		
1. Black students	+.68	+.05
2. White students	-.32	+.12
3. Black-white difference	+.36	-.68
4. School average	-.22	+.33
Preoccupation with Presumed Faults of Other Race (less-more)		
1. Black students	-.61	-.19
2. White students	+.08	+.90
3. Black-white difference	-.47	+.49
4. School average	+.00	+.68
Extra-curricular Activity (less-more)		
1. Black students	-.25	-.61
2. White students	-.10	-.57
3. Black-white difference	+.07	-.33
4. School average	-.08	-.64
Involvement in Unfriendly Intra-racial Contacts (less-more)		
1. Black students	+.50	+.04
2. White students	-.20	+.48
3. Black-white difference	+.43	-.30
4. School average	+.07	+.48
Net Behavior toward Academic Goals (toward-away from)		
1. Black students	+.30	+.29
2. White students	-.26	+.05
3. Black-white difference	+.25	-.02
4. School average	+.00	+.38

level of student preoccupation with presumed faults of the other race increased. Finally, the smaller the difference between black and white levels of racial ethnocentrism, the more likely white students were to report avoiding black students.

School Situation. None of the school variables had a strong association (a correlation beyond .70) with black avoidance of white students. However, four school variables were related strongly to white avoidance. Two of these factors concerned students' preferences for their present high school prior to actual enrollment. The less that white students in particular and students generally preferred their school, the more likely white students were to avoid black students. Also, white avoidance was most common at schools where intra-racial fights involving black students were the smallest proportion of all intra-racial fights reported in the 1970-71 school year and where inter-racial fights were the largest proportion of all fights reported. (The data on fights referred to here are those reported by the schools to the central administration.)

Three factors were related moderately to differences among schools in black avoidance of white students. Black avoidance of Whites was most common in schools where black students were a small proportion of the whole student body and where there were the fewest black faculty members, in terms of numbers and percent.

Four school factors had moderate associations with the average level of white avoidance in the schools. Two factors had to do with the racial composition of the student body and the faculty. White avoidance of Blacks was most common in those schools which had experienced the largest changes in the racial makeup of their student bodies between 1965 and 1970; also, white avoidance increased as the proportion of black faculty members increased. In addition, white avoidance was most likely at schools which black students had not preferred attending. The other important variable concerned the

TABLE 5-4. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INTER-RACIAL AVOIDANCE AND THIRTY-NINE FACTORS CONCERNING THE SCHOOL SITUATION (CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS)

	Avoidance	
School Factors	Black Students	White Students
Student Body		
1. Size (small-large)	-.04	-.43
2. Number black students (small-large)	-.32	-.26
3. Number white students (small-large)	+.24	-.42
4. % black students	-.52	+.14
5. % change in racial composition 1965-1970 (small-large)	-.05	+.70
6. % change in racial composition 1969-1970 (small-large)	+.13	+.26
7. Maximum percent difference in racial composition of four classes (small-large)	-.28	-.18
8. Preference for present high school before enrollment (less-more)		
Black students	-.41	-.50
White students	+.19	-.85
Black-white difference	+.44	-.16
School average	+.11	-.89
Staff		
1. Number of faculty (small-large)	-.01	-.40
2. Number of white teachers (small-large)	+.07	-.38
3. Number of black teachers (small-large)	-.51	-.28
4. % black teachers (small-large)	-.54	+.57
5. Faculty-student ratio (small-large)	+.12	-.57
6. White faculty-white student ratio (small-large)	+.31	-.19
7. Black faculty-black student ratio (small-large)	+.02	-.17
8. Adequacy of teaching staff (less-more)	-.16	+.11
9. Adequacy of counselors (less-more)	-.14	+.28
10. Adequacy of teachers and counselors (less-more)	-.16	+.20
11. Number of security guards (small-large)	-.37	-.23
12. Adequacy of security guards (less-more)	-.44	+.42
13. Strictness of administration (less-more)	+.18	-.04
General		
1. Age of school (young-old)	+.09	-.24
2. Adequacy of facilities (less-more)	-.12	+.47
3. Number of incidents reported in 1970 (small-large)	-.05	-.12
4. Incident-student ratio (small-large)	-.15	-.36

TABLE 5-4. (cont.) RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INTER-RACIAL AVOIDANCE AND THIRTY-NINE FACTORS CONCERNING THE SCHOOL SITUATION (CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS)

School Factors	Avoidance	
	Black Students	White Students
5. Percent incidents involving: (small-large)		
interpersonal harm	+.06	+.12
property damage	-.34	+.27
narcotics or alcohol	-.06	-.23
trespassing or vandalism	-.03	-.40
theft	+.36	-.11
miscellaneous	+.14	-.27
6. Number of reported fights (small-large)	-.10	-.06
7. Number of intra-racial fights (small-large)	-.08	-.09
8. Black intra-racial fights as % of all reported intra-racial fights (small-large)	+.11	-.87
9. Number of inter-racial fights (small-large)	-.20	+.07
10. Inter-racial fights as % of all reported fights (small-large)	-.45	+.79

faculty-student ratio: white students were most likely to avoid Blacks in schools with the smallest faculty-student ratios.

Opportunities for Contact. Only one variable concerning opportunities for inter-racial contact was related strongly to the amount of avoidance reported by black and white students. Black avoidance was most common in schools where white students had the fewest opportunities to interact with black students in classroom situations. None of the opportunity factors was associated strongly with white avoidance.

None of the other factors were related to black avoidance to any substantial degree. However, two factors had moderate associations with white avoidance of black students. These factors concerned the difference between black and white students' opportunities to interact with one another in class and around school generally: the smaller the difference, the more common the avoidance of Blacks by Whites.

TABLE 5-5. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INTER-RACIAL AVOIDANCE AND EIGHT FACTORS CONCERNING OPPORTUNITIES FOR INTER-RACIAL CONTACT (CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS)

	Avoidance	
Opportunities for Contact	Black Students	White Students
Opportunities in Class (less-more)		
1. Black students	+.43	-.30
2. White students	-.77	-.16
3. Black-white difference	+.05	-.50
4. School average	-.14	-.02
Opportunities Around School (less-more)		
1. Black students	+.30	+.11
2. White students	-.45	-.03
3. Black-white difference	-.36	-.51
4. School average	-.10	+.25

Conditions of Contact. Five of the 75 conditions of school contact we examined were related strongly to black students' avoidance of white students. Black students' avoidance of white students decreased as: a) white students saw their own academic status as higher than that of Blacks; b) white students saw black students as having greater power in the school relative to Whites; c) black students expressed most acceptance of conventional norms of school behavior; d) the student body as a whole saw mechanisms for solving problems in the school as most effective; and e) black students saw their black schoolmates as having more favorable attitudes toward Whites.

Four factors were associated strongly with white avoidance. White avoidance was most common in schools where black students were least likely to perceive black students as having lower non-academic status than white students (i.e., occupying proportionately fewer prestige positions) and where there were the largest differences between black and white students' perceptions of their relative nonacademic status. White avoidance also was common in schools where students generally perceived black students as having more power than white students had and where the power possessed by white students actually was most limited (compared to the power possessed by white students in other schools).[2]

In addition to the variables mentioned above, sixteen other factors had moderate associations with black students' avoidance of white students. Three of these factors were positively related to black avoidance: the difference between black and white students' perceptions of the favoritism toward white students; the difference in their educational aspirations; and the difference between black and white students' evaluations of their teachers. All the other factors were negatively related to black avoidance. Black avoidance tended to be most common in schools where: (a) there were the fewest black students in Academic programs; (b) students generally were least inclined to perceive black students as having lower academic status than white students had; (c) white students in particular and students generally were least likely to view black students as having lower nonacademic status relative to white students; (d) white students' educational aspirations were lowest, as were the educational aspirations of all students combined; (e) there was the smallest difference between the proportions of black and white students who had participated in inter-racial groups designed to foster changes in the schools; (f) black and white students were least likely to perceive the available means for solving student problems as effective; (g) black and white students--separately and together--were least inclined to view the school administration as responsive to student problems; and (h) white students were most likely to report that their closest peers harbored negative attitudes about interaction with black students.

Thirteen factors had moderate associations with white avoidance. These factors indicated that white avoidance was most common in schools where: (a) black students were least likely to perceive

TABLE 5-6. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INTER-RACIAL AVOIDANCE AND SEVENTY-FIVE CONDITIONS OF INTER-RACIAL CONTACT (CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS)

Conditions of Contact	Avoidance	
	Black Students	White Students
Relative Academic Status		
Percentage of Students in Academic Programs (small-large)		
1. Black students	-.59	-.35
2. White students	-.48	-.43
3. Black-white difference	+.07	-.19
4. School average	-.43	-.46
Percentage of Students Ever on Honor Roll (small-large)		
1. Black students	-.02	-.01
2. White students	-.44	+.21
3. Black-white difference	-.02	+.15
4. School average	-.26	+.08
Perceptions of Relative Academic Status (Blacks higher-Whites higher)		
1. Black students	-.18	-.70
2. White students	-.76	-.04
3. Black-white difference	-.35	+.31
4. School average	-.67	-.29
Relative Nonacademic (Social) Status		
Perceptions of Relative Nonacademic Status (Blacks higher-Whites higher)		
1. Black students	-.47	-.72
2. White students	-.65	-.51
3. Black-white difference	-.25	+.81
4. School average	-.55	-.64
Percentage of Students Ever Won Prize (small-large)		
1. Black students	+.00	-.32
2. White students	+.18	-.07
3. Black-white difference	+.10	+.31
4. School average	+.24	-.22
Perceptions of Favoritism toward Whites (less-more)		
1. Black students	+.49	-.37
2. White students	+.44	-.34
3. Black-white difference	+.60	-.39
4. School average	+.41	-.36
Perceptions of Favoritism toward Blacks (less-more)		
1. Black students	+.44	-.36
2. White students	+.43	-.27
3. Black-white difference	-.10	-.64
4. School average	+.41	-.31

TABLE 5-6. (cont.) RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INTER-RACIAL AVOIDANCE AND SEVENTY-FIVE CONDITIONS OF INTER-RACIAL CONTACT (CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS)

	Avoidance	
Conditions of Contact	Black Students	White Students
Relative Power		
Perceptions of Relative Power (Whites-Blacks)		
1. Black students	+.26	-.08
2. White students	-.71	+.58
3. Black-white difference	+.12	-.15
4. School average	-.35	+.78
Student Power (less-more)		
1. Black students	-.24	+.70
2. White students	-.20	-.82
3. Black-white difference	-.42	+.04
Similarity		
Adherence to Conventional School Norms (less-more)		
1. Black students	-.80	+.09
2. White students	+.29	+.41
3. Black-white difference	+.48	-.33
4. School average	-.15	+.27
Students' Educational Aspirations (low-high)		
1. Black students	-.27	-.51
2. White students	-.52	-.28
3. Black-white difference	+.59	+.08
4. School average	-.53	-.29
Students' Occupational Aspirations (low-high)		
1. Black students	+.10	+.20
2. White students	+.40	+.36
3. Black-white difference	-.03	-.30
4. School average	+.29	+.28
Compatibility of Goals		
Perceptions of Goal Compatibility (less-more)		
1. Black students	-.19	-.05
2. White students	-.34	-.66
3. Black-white difference	-.18	-.58
4. School average	-.19	-.55
Participation in Inter-racial Groups Fostering Change in School (less-more)		
1. Black students	-.32	-.06
2. White students	-.21	-.29
3. Black-white difference	-.53	-.23
4. School average	-.17	-.19

TABLE 5-6. (cont.) RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INTER-RACIAL AVOIDANCE AND SEVENTY-FIVE CONDITIONS OF INTER-RACIAL CONTACT (CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS)

Conditions of Contact	Avoidance	
	Black Students	White Students
Problem-Solving Mechanisms		
Perceptions of Effectiveness of Available Means (less-more)		
1. Black students	-.50	+.10
2. White students	-.60	-.06
3. Black-white difference	-.01	+.10
4. School average	-.71	-.01
Perceptions of Administration Strictness (less-more)		
1. Black students	+.32	+.02
2. White students	+.20	-.49
3. Black-white difference	+.10	+.54
4. School average	+.10	-.21
Perceptions of Administrative Responsiveness to Student Problems (less-more)		
1. Black students	-.67	+.12
2. White students	-.65	+.09
3. Black-white difference	+.12	+.19
4. School average	-.64	+.02
Students' Evaluation of Teachers (negative-positive)		
1. Black students	-.38	-.18
2. White students	+.17	+.16
3. Black-white difference	+.51	+.27
4. School average	+.21	-.12
Peer Attitudes about Other Race (negative-positive)		
1. Black students	-.76	-.04
2. White students	-.53	-.49
3. Black-white difference	-.19	-.53
4. School average	-.44	-.50

black students as having lower academic status than white students had; (b) white students in particular and students generally were least inclined to see black students as having lower nonacademic status than white students had; (c) black and white students' perceptions of possible favoritism toward Blacks were most similar; (d) white students most often viewed black students as having more power than white students, and where black students actually possessed more power than they had in other schools; (e) black students' educational aspirations were lowest, (f) white students in particular and students generally were least likely to perceive their goals as compatible with those of other-race students; (g) black and white students' perceptions of the incompatibility of their goals were most similar; (h) there was the largest difference between black and white students' perceptions of the school administration's strictness, and (i) there was the smallest difference between the black and white students' tendencies to report that their closest peers maintained negative attitudes about interaction with other-race students.

Perceptions of Other Race. Only one variable having to do with inter-racial perceptions was related strongly to black avoidance of Whites. That factor concerned the student bodies' perceptions of the relative toughness of black and white students. The less all students saw the other race as tougher than their own race, the more likely black students were to avoid white students. None of the perception variables were related strongly to white avoidance of Blacks.

One additional factor had a moderate association with black avoidance. The data indicated that black avoidance was most common when students were least inclined to see their own race as having better traits than members of the other race had. In terms of white avoidance, one variable in this set should be mentioned. The more that white students viewed Whites as having better traits than black students had, the more avoidance by Whites increased.

TABLE 5-7. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INTER-RACIAL AVOIDANCE AND EIGHT FACTORS CONCERNING INTER-GROUP PERCEPTIONS (CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS)

	Avoidance	
Perceptions of the Other Race	Black Students	White Students
Relative Toughness (own race tougher-other race tougher)		
1. Black students	+.10	+.01
2. White students	-.40	-.14
3. Black-white difference	+.38	+.14
4. School average	-.74	+.05
Relative Goodness (own race better-other race better)		
1. Black students	-.45	-.19
2. White students	-.18	-.56
3. Black-white difference	-.29	+.12
4. School average	-.63	-.42

Student Emotions. None of the emotions variables was associated strongly with black avoidance. However, two factors dealing with feelings of anger were associated strongly with white avoidance. White avoidance was most common when white students in particular and students generally were most inclined to be more angry at students of the other race than at students of their own race.

Two factors were associated moderately with black avoidance in the schools--one dealing with anger and one dealing with fear. The more black students expressed more anger at and fear of white students than they did regarding other black students, the more they were likely to avoid white students. In regard to white avoidance of Blacks, two other factors should be mentioned. White avoidance increased as general student loyalty to their school decreased and as the difference between black and white students' fear of one another increased.

TABLE 5-8. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INTER-RACIAL AVOIDANCE AND TWELVE FACTORS CONCERNING STUDENT EMOTIONS (CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS)

	Avoidance	
Student Emotions	Black Students	White Students
Loyalty to the School (less-more)		
1. Black students	-.43	-.09
2. White students	+.19	-.48
3. Black-white difference	+.31	-.10
4. School average	+.10	-.54
Relative Anger (less-more)		
1. Black students	+.52	+.18
2. White students	-.01	+.89
3. Black-white difference	-.34	+.34
4. School average	+.25	+.80
Relative Fear (less-more)		
1. Black students	+.55	-.29
2. White students	-.34	+.48
3. Black-white difference	-.47	+.50
4. School average	+.36	+.22

Summary. Our first step in summarizing the findings on inter-racial avoidance is to provide an overview of those factors in the model which were associated strongly with black or white avoidance (i.e., had correlations of above .70). This procedure will highlight those factors which seem to contribute the most to a school-level understanding of avoidance. Then to make sure we have properly emphasized the overall patterns in the data, we will indicate which cells in the model (see Chapter 2) contributed the most variables which had at least moderate associations (.50 or above) with the average level of black and white avoidance in schools.

Table 5-9 contains a listing of all the variables which were associated strongly with black and white students' avoidance patterns. All 23 of the factors in the table were associated with avoidance for one racial group but not the other; none of the factors was associated with both black and white avoidance at above a correlation of .70.

Black students' avoidance of Whites was most common at schools where: (a) black parents in particular and parents generally harbored negative attitudes about other-race people; (b) white students had the fewest opportunities for interaction with black students in classrooms; (c) white students were least likely to view the academic status of black students as being lower than that of white students;[3] (d) white students were least inclined to view black students as having more power than white students had in the school; (e) black students were least likely to endorse conventional school norms; (f) students generally were least inclined to view the available problem-solving mechanisms in the schools as effective; (g) black students reported that their closest peers had negative attitudes about interaction with white students; and (h) students generally were least likely to view other-race students as tougher than students of their own race.

In regard to white avoidance of Blacks, fourteen factors were most important. White students' avoidance of black students was most common at schools where: (a) white students were most likely to ride school buses to school and the difference between the percentage of black students taking school buses (larger) and the percentage of white students taking school buses (smaller) was the largest; (b) the percentage of black and white students reporting favorable attitudes about the other race before high school was most similar; (c) white students were most likely to be preoccupied with thoughts about the presumed faults of black students; (d) white students in particular and students generally reported not preferring their present high school before they enrolled in it; (e) intra-racial fights involving black students represented a relatively small proportion of all the intra-racial fights reported in the 1970-71 school year; (f) inter-racial fights represented a relatively large proportion of all the reported fights; (g) black students were least likely to view black students as having lower nonacademic status than white students had and the difference in black and white students' perceptions of their relative nonacademic status was the largest; (h) black and white students collectively were most inclined to view black students as having more power than white students; (i) white students--compared with white students in other schools--possessed relatively little power; and (j) white students in particular and students generally were most likely to report greater feelings of anger toward other-race students than toward students of their own race.

Let us turn next to an overall summary of the factors which had at least moderate associations with black and white avoidance in the schools. As the summary data in Table 5-10 indicate, over half of the significant variables for black avoidance were conditions of contact. That cell in the conceptual model, in conjunction with "home situation" accounted for about 70 percent of the variables significant for black avoidance. The other cells in the model produced only a few variables significantly related to black avoidance.

For white avoidance, conditions of contact also were important, but less so than for black avoidance. Conditions of contact and student characteristics together constituted about half of the significant variables. Neighborhood and grade school factors and the school situation made up another third of the significant variables. The home situation, perceptions, and emotions cells of the model produced fewer variables significantly related to white avoidance.

Our final way of summarizing the findings is to indicate which of the eight sets of factors contained more or fewer significant variables than one would expect based on the number of factors which were examined in each cell. It also is helpful to observe which sets of factors contributed a proportionate number of significant determinants of inter-racial avoidance. Using this procedure, we find that conditions of contact in the school are over-represented as good predictors of black avoidance, while neighborhood and grade school factors are under-represented. For white students, student characteristics are slightly over-represented as good predictors of avoidance. All other cells are rather proportionately represented for white avoidance.

TABLE 5-9. SUMMARY OF FACTORS RELATED STRONGLY TO INTER-RACIAL AVOIDANCE

	Avoidance	
Determinants	Black Students	White Students
Home Situation Factors		
Parents' Attitudes about Other Race		
Black parents	-.72	-.00
School average	-.81	-.15
Neighborhood and Grade School		
Mode of Transportation to School		
White students	-.30	+.86
Black-white difference	-.33	+.87
Student Characteristics		
Opinions about Other Race before High School		
Black-white difference	-.16	-.76
Preoccupation with Presumed Faults of Other Race		
White students	+.08	+.90
School Situation Factors		
Preference for Present High School before Enrollment		
White students	+.19	-.85
School average	+.11	-.89
Black Intra-racial Fights as % of All Reported Intra-racial Fights	+.11	-.87
Inter-racial Fights as % of All Reported Fights	-.45	+.79
Opportunities for Contact		
Opportunities in Class		
White students	-.77	-.16
Conditions of Contact		
Perceptions of Relative Academic Status		
White students	-.76	-.04
Perceptions of Relative Nonacademic Status		
Black students	-.47	-.72
Black-white difference	-.25	+.81
Perceptions of Relative Power		
White students	-.71	+.58
School average	-.35	+.78
Student Power		
White students	-.20	-.82

TABLE 5-9. SUMMARY OF FACTORS RELATED STRONGLY TO INTER-RACIAL (cont.) AVOIDANCE

Determinants	Avoidance Black Students	 White Students
Adherence to Conventional School Norms		
Black students	-.80	+.09
Perceptions of Effectiveness of Available Means for Solving Student Problems		
School average	-.71	-.01
Peer Attitudes about Other Race		
Black students	-.76	-.04
Perceptions of Other Race		
Perceptions of Relative Toughness		
School average	-.74	+.05
Student Emotions		
Relative Anger		
White students	-.01	+.89
School average	+.25	+.80

TABLE 5-10. SUMMARY OF THE CONTRIBUTIONS EACH CELL IN THE MODEL MADE TO THE TOTAL NUMBER OF VARIABLES RELATED TO INTER-RACIAL AVOIDANCE

			Factors significant for:			
	Total Factors		Black Students		White Students	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Home Situation	24	10	5	13	1	2
Neighborhood and Grade School	40	17	1	3	9	17
Student Characteristics	28	12	3	8	12	22
School Situation	39	17	3	8	8	15
Opportunities for Contact	8	3	1	3	2	4
Conditions of Contact	75	32	21	55	17	31
Perceptions of Other Race	8	3	2	5	1	2
Student Emotions	12	5	2	5	4	7
TOTAL	234	99	38	100	54	100

*When the percentage for any cell under either "Black Students" or "White Students" is different from the comparable percentage under "Total Factors" by 10 percent or more, that cell is said to be either over-represented or under-represented on the final list of significant variables. When the difference between the columns is less than 10 percent, that cell is said to be proportionately represented.

Friendly Contact

We turn now to a consideration of friendly contact between black and white students. (See Chapter 4 and Appendix B for specific items making up the index of friendly interaction.) What factors were associated with variations in the amount of friendly interaction between the races which occurred in the various high schools? As with our discussion of avoidance, we will consider, in turn, the relationship of variations in inter-racial friendliness to variations in: a) home situation; b) neighborhood and grade school experiences; c) student characteristics; d) the school situation; e) opportunity for contact in the school; f) conditions of contact in the school; g) perceptions of the other race; and h) student emotions. After consideration of each of these sets of factors, we will summarize the main results concerning friendly contact.

Home Situation. One of the home situation variables--the racial attitudes of black parents--has a strong relationship to the amount of inter-racial friendliness black students reported (see Table 5-11). Black friendliness with white students was most common when black parents had the most favorable attitudes about white people. In terms of white students' friendliness with black students, parents' attitudes again were important. Friendly contact was most often reported by Whites at schools where white students' parents in particular and students' parents generally had the most favorable opinions of other-race people.

Friendly inter-racial contact also was most often experienced by black students in schools where there was a substantial difference between the racial attitudes of black and white parents and where black and white students were most likely to come from families headed by both a husband and wife. Friendly contact by Whites was related to two other factors. The more education white parents had and the larger the gap between black and white parents' educational levels,

TABLE 5-11. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INTER-RACIAL FRIENDLINESS AND TWENTY-FOUR HOME SITUATION FACTORS (CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS)

	Friendly Contact	
Home Situation Factors	Black Students	White Students
Parents' Education (less-more)		
1. Black parents	+.12	+.39
2. White parents	+.11	+.50
3. Black-white difference	-.00	+.66
4. School average	+.19	+.24
Parents' Attitudes about Other Race (unfavorable-favorable)		
1. Black parents	+.78	+.27
2. White parents	+.19	+.88
3. Black-white difference	+.53	-.43
4. School average	+.12	+.83
Parental Concern about Students' Schoolwork (less-more)		
1. Black parents	+.31	-.46
2. White parents	-.07	-.36
3. Black-white difference	+.32	+.08
4. School average	-.27	-.17
Parental Concern about Students' Futures (less-more)		
1. Black parents	-.08	-.06
2. White parents	+.14	-.34
3. Black-white difference	-.37	+.25
4. School average	-.12	+.24
Family Size (small-large)		
1. Black families	-.27	-.38
2. White families	-.45	+.12
3. Black-white difference	+.05	-.44
4. School average	-.31	+.17
Family Structure (both parents present)		
1. Black families	+.24	+.23
2. White families	+.39	-.04
3. Black-white difference	+.02	-.31
4. School average	+.59	-.33

the more likely white students were to be friendly with black students.

Neighborhood and Grade School. Ten neighborhood and grade school variables were strongly associated with the amount of friendly contact reported by black students in these schools (see Table 5-12). Five of these factors concerned black students' own neighborhood and grade school experiences and five concerned the difference between black and white students' backgrounds. The data on black students indicated that Blacks experienced most friendly inter-racial contact when black students (a) were least likely to live in segregated neighborhoods; (b) had the most extensive friendly neighborhood contacts with Whites; (c) had the most extensive opportunities for inter-racial contact in grade school; (d) had the most extensive friendly inter-racial contacts in grade school; and (e) had the most contact with Whites outside of high school generally. The other five factors--all of which were positively related to friendly contacts by Blacks--concerned the magnitude of the black-white differences on the same five factors just mentioned in regard to black students. In other words, black students had most friendly contacts with Whites in schools where there was the largest black-white difference concerning the extent of racial segregation of the students' neighborhoods; the amount and nature of inter-racial contact in the neighborhood; the opportunities for inter-racial contact in grade school; the amount and nature of inter-racial contact in grade school; and the amount of contact outside of high school generally.

Turning to the friendly inter-racial contact reported by white students, eight neighborhood and grade school factors were strongly related to the amount of friendly contact reported. First, white students were most likely to have friendly interaction with Blacks when white students in particular and all students generally were least likely to live in segregated neighborhoods. Friendly contact among Whites also increased as the proportion of white students in particular, and students generally, who had experienced extensive friendly cross-racial contacts in their neighborhoods increased. Friendly inter-racial contact for Whites was greatest, too, in schools where white students reported having had the most extensive opportunities for and most favorable inter-racial experiences in grade school. Also, the more friendly contacts Whites had with Blacks and students generally had with other-race people outside of high school, the more friendly contact Whites had with Blacks in the high school.

In addition to the factors mentioned above which had the strongest associations with the amount of friendly interaction in a school, a number of other factors had moderate associations (from .50 to .70) with friendly contact. Five other variables pertaining to grade school and neighborhood had a moderate association with the amount of friendly inter-racial contacts which black students had. The amount of friendly inter-racial contact black students had outside of high school was positively related to black student friendliness with Whites in high school. Friendly contact for Blacks also increased as a larger proportion of black students had first met white children before the age of ten, and decreased as fewer black students had known Whites that they were currently friendly with before they enrolled in high school. The differences between black and white students' answers to these questions concerning their age when they first had contact, and became friends with, some white children were positively related to friendly contact with Whites in high school.

In regard to the friendly inter-racial contacts of Whites, seven additional factors should be mentioned. White students had most friendly contact with Blacks in schools where there was the smallest gap between the amount of time [illegible] took black and white students to travel to school in the mornings. Black and white students' reports of having had extensive opportunities for, and actual experiences of, considerable friendly contact with other-race students in grade school also were associated with more friendly contacts by Whites. In addition, two other variables had to do with the inter-racial contact

TABLE 5-12. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INTER-RACIAL FRIENDLINESS AND FORTY FACTORS CONCERNING STUDENTS' NEIGHBORHOODS AND GRADE SCHOOLS (CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS)

Neighborhood and Grade School Factors	Friendly Contact Black Students	 White Students
NEIGHBORHOOD FACTORS		
Amount of Time to get to School in Morning (% less than 15 minutes)		
1. Black students	+.03	+.47
2. White students	+.35	-.05
3. Black-white difference	+.10	-.59
4. School average	+.45	-.15
Racial Composition of Neighborhood (% in segregated neighborhoods)		
1. Black students	-.83	-.16
2. White students	+.10	-.93
3. Black-white difference	+.84	+.34
4. School average	+.13	-.80
Mode of Transportation to School (% taking school bus)		
1. Black students	-.37	-.43
2. White students	-.22	-.26
3. Black-white difference	-.28	-.23
4. School average	-.36	-.43
Amount and Nature of Inter-racial Contact in Neighborhood (more unfriendly-more friendly)		
1. Black students	+.87	-.16
2. White students	-.19	+.95
3. Black-white difference	+.84	+.32
4. School average	-.26	+.76
GRADE SCHOOL FACTORS		
Opportunity for Inter-racial Contact (less-more)		
1. Black students	+.83	-.01
2. White students	-.16	+.80
3. Black-white difference	+.85	-.47
4. School average	-.19	+.56
Amount and Nature of Inter-racial Contact in Grade School (more unfriendly-more friendly)		
1. Black students	+.88	+.20
2. White students	-.23	+.80
3. Black-white difference	+.89	-.15
4. School average	-.23	+.69

TABLE 5-12. (cont.) RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INTER-RACIAL FRIENDLINESS AND FORTY FACTORS CONCERNING STUDENTS' NEIGHBORHOODS AND GRADE SCHOOLS (CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS)

	Friendly Contact	
Neighborhood and Grade School Factors	Black Students	White Students
GENERAL FACTORS		
Amount of Inter-racial Contact Outside High School Generally (less-more)		
1. Black students	+.85	+.23
2. White students	-.23	+.92
3. Black-white difference	+.81	-.52
4. School average	-.31	+.8[illegible]
Nature of Contact Outside High School Generally (unfriendly-friendly)		
1. Black students	+.70	+.12
2. White students	+.21	+.56
3. Black-white difference	-.23	+.16
4. School average	+.39	+.03
Age When First Met Other-Race Person (% before 10 years)		
1. Black students	+.50	+.18
2. White students	+.22	+.34
3. Black-white difference	+.59	-.10
4. School average	+.10	+.58
Other-Race Friends before High School (% having none)		
1. Black students	-.59	-.09
2. White students	+.17	-.56
3. Black-white difference	+.63	-.24
4. School average	+.19	-.40

students had outside of high school. Friendly inter-racial contact by Whites was greatest in schools where the amounts of inter-racial contact black and white students had outside of high school were most similar and where white students reported having had the most friendly contacts with Blacks outside of high school generally. Finally, white friendliness was associated with the tendency for students generally to report having first met other-race children before the age of ten and the tendency for white students to report having made friends before high school with the black students with whom they are now friendly.

Student Characteristics. Four factors pertaining to the personal qualities of the students were associated strongly with the amount of friendly inter-racial contact reported by Blacks (see Table 5-13). Black students were most friendly with Whites when black students in particular and students generally had the most favorable attitudes about other-race students prior to enrolling in high school. Blacks were least friendly with Whites in schools where students generally seemed preoccupied with the presumed faults of other-race students and schools in which black students reported being involved in most unfriendly behaviors with other black students.

Three factors were related strongly to the amount of friendly inter-racial contact reported by white students. Whites reported more friendly interaction with Blacks as: white students had more favorable opinions of Blacks prior to high school; black students were more preoccupied with the presumed faults of white students; and black students were more actively involved in school clubs and activities.

In addition to the factors mentioned above, which related most strongly to friendly contact between the races, other factors pertaining to student characteristics had moderate associations with friendly contact. Four other variables were related to the friendly contacts experienced by Blacks. Blacks were more friendly with white schoolmates in schools where black students were more satisfied

TABLE 5-13. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INTER-RACIAL FRIENDLINESS AND TWENTY-EIGHT CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STUDENTS (CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS)

	Friendly Contact	
Student Characteristics	Black Students	White Students
Opinions of Other Race before High School (unfavorable-favorable)		
1. Black students	+.89	+.68
2. White students	+.45	+.83
3. Black-white difference	+.25	+.54
4. School average	+.75	+.51
Satisfaction with Life Circumstances (less-more)		
1. Black students	+.54	-.44
2. White students	+.34	-.39
3. Black-white difference	+.35	-.19
4. School average	+.33	-.50
Racial Ethnocentrism (less-more)		
1. Black students	-.07	-.29
2. White students	-.20	+.69
3. Black-white difference	+.20	-.13
4. School average	-.32	+.51
Preoccupation with Presumed Faults of Other Race (less-more)		
1. Black students	+.12	+.84
2. White students	-.66	-.48
3. Black-white difference	+.35	+.30
4. School average	-.82	+.01
Extra-curricular Activity (less-more)		
1. Black students	+.35	+.83
2. White students	+.11	+.66
3. Black-white difference	-.28	+.18
4. School average	+.20	+.65
Involvement in Unfriendly Intra-racial Contacts (less-more)		
1. Black students	-.80	-.22
2. White students	-.45	+.07
3. Black-white difference	+.22	-.24
4. School average	-.61	-.06
Net Behavior toward Academic Goals (toward-away from)		
1. Black students	-.56	-.28
2. White students	-.26	+.44
3. Black-white difference	-.34	+.03
4. School average	-.34	-.01

with their life circumstances. Black students were less friendly with Whites in schools where white students were more preoccupied with the presumed faults of black students; where students generally were more involved in unfriendly contacts within their own racial group; and where black students indicated most diligence in their school work.

Eight other factors were related moderately to white friendliness with Blacks. One of these variables was negatively related to white friendliness with Blacks. The more the student body as a whole was satisfied with their life circumstances, the less the friendly interaction among Whites. The seven other variables were positively related to white friendliness. Friendly inter-racial contacts by Whites tended to be greater in schools: where black students and the student body as a whole had more favorable inter-racial attitudes prior to high school (and the difference between the races in this respect was larger); where white students and the student body as a whole scored higher on our measure of racial ethnocentrism; and where white students and students generally were more active in school clubs and activities.

School Situation. Two school factors were highly related to black friendliness with white students (see Table 5-14). Both factors involved reported disciplinary incidents at the schools. Black friendliness with Whites was most common in schools where the incident-student ratio was highest (i.e., where there were relatively few incidents) and where, in comparison to other types of incidents, incidents involving property damage were the most common.

Two other factors were highly related to white friendliness with black students. These factors concerned the racial compositions of the student bodies and the faculties. The larger the percentage of black students and the larger the number of black teachers at a school, the more likely white students were to report friendly interactions with black students.

TABLE 5-14. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INTER-RACIAL FRIENDLINESS AND THIRTY-NINE FACTORS CONCERNING THE SCHOOL SITUATION (CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS)

	Friendly Contact	
School Factors	Black Students	White Students
Student Body		
1. Size (small-large)	+.22	-.09
2. Number black students (small-large)	-.19	+.39
3. Number white students (small-large)	+.48	-.50
4. % black students	-.45	+.78
5. % change in racial composition 1965-1970 (small-large)	-.40	-.29
6. % change in racial composition 1969-1970 (small-large)	-.48	-.17
7. Maximum percent difference in racial composition of four classes (small-large)	+.39	+.12
8. Preference for present high school before enrollment (less-more)		
Black students	+.06	+.70
White students	+.36	+.15
Black-white difference	+.27	-.55
School average	+.46	+.18
Staff		
1. Number of faculty (small-large)	+.10	+.03
2. Number of white teachers (small-large)	+.13	-.08
3. Number of black teachers (small-large)	-.17	+.73
4. % black teachers (small-large)	-.28	+.36
5. Faculty-student ratio (small-large)	+.39	-.22
6. White faculty-white student ratio (small-large)	+.51	-.69
7. Black faculty-black student ratio (small-large)	-.37	+.06
8. Adequacy of teaching staff (less-more)	-.02	+.12
9. Adequacy of counselors (less-more)	+.07	-.07
10. Adequacy of teachers and counselors (less-more)	+.02	+.03
11. Number of security guards (small-large)	-.13	+.27
12. Adequacy of security guards (less-more)	-.35	-.23
13. Strictness of administration (less-more)	-.21	-.29
General		
1. Age of school (young-old)	+.07	+.42
2. Adequacy of facilities (less-more)	-.31	-.33
3. Number of incidents reported in 1970 (small-large)	-.18	+.11
4. Incident-student ratio (small-large)	+.94	-.35

TABLE 5-14. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INTER-RACIAL FRIENDLINESS AND THIRTY-NINE (cont.) FACTORS CONCERNING THE SCHOOL SITUATION (CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS)

School Factors	Friendly Contact	
	Black Students	White Students
5. Percent incidents involving: (small-large)		
interpersonal harm	-.03	-.11
property damage	+.83	-.12
narcotics or alcohol	-.55	+.09
trespassing or vandalism	+.69	+.50
theft	-.44	-.08
miscellaneous	-.39	+.12
6. Number of reported fights (small-large)	-.16	+.03
7. Number of intra-racial fights (small-large)	-.14	+.03
8. Black intra-racial fights as % of all reported intra-racial fights (small-large)	-.45	+.37
9. Number of inter-racial fights (small-large)	-.23	+.02
10. Inter-racial fights as % of all reported fights (small-large)	-.37	+.01

Three additional factors were associated moderately with the amount of friendly inter-racial contact experienced by black students. Black friendliness with Whites was more common in schools where the white faculty-white student ratio was larger; where a high proportion of disciplinary incidents involved trespassing and vandalism; and where violations of drug and alcohol regulations were less common. Concerning white friendliness with Blacks, five additional factors having moderate associations with such contact should be mentioned. White students were more friendly with Blacks at schools where there were relatively few white students; where the white faculty-white student ratio was small; where black students were more inclined to say they preferred attending even before enrolling there; where there was relatively little difference in the extent to which white and black students preferred their present school; and where trespassing and vandalism were common types of incidents reported by school officials, relative to other types of offenses.

TABLE 5-15. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INTER-RACIAL FRIENDLINESS AND EIGHT FACTORS CONCERNING OPPORTUNITIES FOR INTER-RACIAL CONTACT (CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS)

Opportunities for Contact	Friendly Contact Black Students	Friendly Contact White Students
Opportunities in Class (less-more)		
1. Black students	+.31	-.65
2. White students	+.32	+.70
3. Black-white difference	+.28	-.05
4. School average	+.53	-.29
Opportunities Around School (less-more)		
1. Black students	-.16	-.55
2. White students	-.16	+.54
3. Black-white difference	+.20	+.62
4. School average	-.29	-.08

Opportunities for Contact. None of the eight variables dealing with opportunities for inter-racial contact was related strongly to the amount of friendly inter-racial contact reported by either black or white students (see Table 5-15). However, the amount of opportunity which all students combined had for inter-racial contact in class had a moderate association with the friendly interaction black students had with Whites (more opportunity for class contact, more friendly interaction). Moreover, five factors bearing on opportunity for contact had moderate associations with the amount of friendly interaction with Blacks reported by white students. White friendliness with Blacks was most common when black students had the fewest opportunities to interact with Whites in class and around school generally, but when white students had the greatest opportunities to interact with black students in class and around school. (These results are not inconsistent since, as the proportion of black students in a school increases, the opportunity for inter-racial interaction for Whites may be expected to increase at the same time that opportunity for inter-racial contact for Blacks decreases.) Also, white friendliness was common in schools where black and white students' opportunities to interact with one another around school generally were most unequal.

Conditions of Contact. Only one of the 75 conditions of contact was related strongly to black students' friendliness with white students. That factor concerned the difference between black and white students' perceptions of the effectiveness of the means available for solving student problems; the larger the difference, the more friendly contacts were reported by Blacks.

In regard to white friendliness with Blacks, twelve variables were strongly related to the amount of such friendly interaction reported by Whites. Three of these factors concerned the academic status of black and white students. The larger the proportion of black students in the Academic programs but the more white students in particular and students generally were to view black students as having lower academic status than white students had, the more friendly white students were with Blacks. Also, the more likely white students and all students combined were to view black students as being of lower nonacademic (social) status in school than Whites, the more Whites had friendly contact with Blacks.

The more power white students had in the school (in terms of school and class officerships), the more friendliness with Blacks they reported. Moreover, the more black and white students (separately and together) participated in inter-racial groups designed to foster change in their schools, the more general friendliness with Blacks was reported by Whites. Finally, white friendliness with Blacks was most common in schools where black students perceived the administration as being responsive to student needs; where white students said their white schoolmates had favorable attitudes about interaction with black students; and where there was the largest difference between black and white students' reports about the racial attitudes of their (same-race) peers.

In addition to those conditions of school contact noted above, which had the strongest associations (correlations over .70) with friendly inter-racial contact, a number of other factors in this set have moderate associations (between .50 and .70) with the amount of friendly contact.

Nine additional factors were related moderately to the amount of friendly contact experienced by black students. Two of these factors had to do with student power: the more black students saw themselves as having more power than white students, and the larger the difference between black and white students' perceptions of their relative power, the more friendliness with Whites black students reported. Two other factors concerned participation in inter-racial groups designed to foster change in the schools: the larger the difference between black and white students in this regard and the more students generally participated in such groups, the more overall friendliness with Whites was reported by black students.

Two other factors pertained to students' evaluations of their teachers: the more black students in particular and students generally gave their teachers positive evaluations, the more friendliness with Whites was reported by black students. Also, black friendliness was more common at schools where: black students were more likely to have won some prize or award; black students were less likely to perceive the available means for solving student problems as effective; and students generally reported that their closest peers had the most favorable attitudes about interaction with students of the other race.

With regard to the friendly inter-racial contact reported by white students, twenty-three variables had moderate associations with such friendly contact. Since nineteen of these factors were positively related to white friendliness with Blacks, we will simply list them here: the amount of friendly inter-racial contact reported by Whites increased as there were increases in: (a) the

TABLE 5-16. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INTER-RACIAL FRIENDLINESS AND SEVENTY-FIVE CONDITIONS OF INTER-RACIAL CONTACT (CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS)

	Friendly Contact	
Conditions of Contact	Black Students	White Students
Relative Academic Status		
Percentage of Students in Academic Programs (small-large)		
1. Black students	+.26	+.86
2. White students	+.16	+.66
3. Black-white difference	-.08	-.19
4. School average	+.30	+.56
Percentage of Students Ever on Honor Roll (small-large)		
1. Black students	-.32	+.66
2. White students	-.25	+.68
3. Black-white difference	+.23	-.44
4. School average	-.09	+.70
Perceptions of Relative Academic Status (Blacks higher-Whites higher)		
1. Black students	+.12	+.70
2. White students	+.11	+.86
3. Black-white difference	+.28	-.04
4. School average	+.15	+.95
Relative Nonacademic (Social) Status		
Perceptions of Relative Nonacademic Status (Blacks higher-Whites higher)		
1. Black students	+.41	+.70
2. White students	+.40	+.78
3. Black-white difference	-.28	-.11
4. School average	+.43	+.75
Percentage of Students Ever Won Prize (small-large)		
1. Black students	+.69	+.45
2. White students	+.10	+.13
3. Black-white difference	+.12	-.41
4. School average	+.20	+.17
Perceptions of Favoritism toward Whites (less-more)		
1. Black students	+.00	-.30
2. White students	+.01	-.28
3. Black-white difference	-.05	-.36
4. School average	+.03	-.24
Perceptions of Favoritism toward Blacks (less-more)		
1. Black students	+.04	-.25
2. White students	-.02	-.28
3. Black-white difference	+.40	+.51
4. School average	+.00	-.24

TABLE 5-16. (cont.) RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INTER-RACIAL FRIENDLINESS AND SEVENTY-FIVE CONDITIONS OF INTER-RACIAL CONTACT (CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS)

	Friendly Contact	
Conditions of Contact	Black Students	White Students
Relative Power		
Perceptions of Relative Power (Whites to Blacks)		
1. Black students	+.62	-.63
2. White students	+.17	+.27
3. Black-white difference	+.55	-.43
4. School average	+.21	-.31
Student Power (less-more)		
1. Black students	+.02	+.06
2. White students	+.08	+.72
3. Black-white difference	-.30	+.34
Similarity		
Adherence to Conventional School Norms (less-more)		
1. Black students	+.17	+.24
2. White students	+.16	-.63
3. Black-white difference	-.10	+.16
4. School average	+.40	-.31
Students' Educational Aspirations (low-high)		
1. Black students	-.27	+.70
2. White students	+.24	+.46
3. Black-white difference	+.28	-.24
4. School average	+.24	+.52
Students' Occupational Aspirations (low-high)		
1. Black students	-.17	-.40
2. White students	-.25	-.42
3. Black-white difference	+.02	+.30
4. School average	-.32	-.26
Compatibility of Goals		
Perceptions of Goal Compatibility (less-more)		
1. Black students	-.10	+.63
2. White students	+.26	+.54
3. Black-white difference	+.22	+.22
4. School average	+.19	+.28
Participation in Inter-racial Groups Fostering Change in School (less-more)		
1. Black students	+.08	+.72
2. White students	-.45	+.94
3. Black-white difference	+.66	+.67
4. School average	+.53	+.89

TABLE 5-16. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INTER-RACIAL FRIENDLINESS AND
(cont.) SEVENTY-FIVE CONDITIONS OF INTER-RACIAL CONTACT
(CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS)

	Friendly Contact	
Conditions of Contact	Black Students	White Students
Problem-Solving Mechanisms		
Perceptions of Effectiveness of Available Means (less-more)		
1. Black students	-.67	+.64
2. White students	+.22	+.59
3. Black-white difference	+.93	-.30
4. School average	+.19	+.66
Perceptions of Administration Strictness (less-more)		
1. Black students	+.08	-.64
2. White students	+.40	-.35
3. Black-white difference	-.31	-.27
4. School average	+.30	-.44
Perceptions of Administrative Responsiveness to Student Problems (less-more)		
1. Black students	-.39	+.72
2. White students	+.32	+.54
3. Black-white difference	+.25	-.40
4. School average	+.39	+.57
Students' Evaluation of Teachers (negative-positive)		
1. Black students	+.53	-.25
2. White students	+.45	-.45
3. Black-white difference	-.12	-.12
4. School average	+.60	-.60
Peer Attitudes about Other Race (negative-positive)		
1. Black students	-.13	+.36
2. White students	+.22	+.92
3. Black-white difference	+.30	+.84
4. School average	+.60	+.65

percentage of white students in particular and students generally who were enrolled in Academic programs; (b) the percentage of black and white students--separately and together--who had been on the honor roll; (c) black students' perceptions that Whites in their school were higher than the Blacks in both academic and nonacademic status; (d) the difference between black and white students' perceptions of possible favoritism toward black students; (e) black students' educational aspirations as well as the educational aspirations of students generally; (f) black and white students' perceptions of their respective goals as compatible; (g) the difference between black and white students' participation in inter-racial groups fostering change in the schools; (h) black and white students' separate and collective perceptions that the means available for solving student problems were effective; (i) the perceptions of white students and students generally that the school administration was responsive to student problems; and (j) positive racial attitudes of the students' peers.

Four factors were negatively related to white friendliness with Blacks. The amount of friendly inter-racial contact reported by Whites decreased as there were increases in: black students' perceptions that their power in school was greater than that of white students; white students' adherence to conventional norms of behavior; black students' perceptions of the school administration as strict; and the whole student body's positive evaluations of their teachers.

Perceptions of the Other Race. Two factors pertaining to the perceptions which students of one race had of students of the other race had strong associations with the amount of friendly inter-racial contact reported. The amount of friendly contact reported by black students in a school decreased as the black students saw the Whites as more physically "tough." The amount of friendly contact reported by white students increased as the student body as a whole saw students of the other race as having more positive personal traits.

TABLE 5-17. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INTER-RACIAL FRIENDLINESS AND EIGHT FACTORS CONCERNING INTER-GROUP PERCEPTIONS (CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS)

	Friendly Contact	
Perceptions of the Other Race	Black Students	White Students
Relative Toughness (own race tougher-other race tougher)		
1. Black students	-.71	+.08
2. White students	+.64	+.23
3. Black-white difference	-.54	-.18
4. School average	+.42	+.64
Relative Goodness (own race better-other race better)		
1. Black students	+.18	+.43
2. White students	+.03	+.41
3. Black-white difference	+.60	+.16
4. School average	+.52	+.80

Four additional factors were related moderately to black friendliness with Whites. The more white students saw black students as tougher than white students, the more inter-racial friendliness black students reported. Also, the greater the difference between black and white students' perceptions of their relative toughness, the less likely black students were to report friendly contacts with white students. Moreover, the larger the difference between black and white students' perceptions of their relative goodness, and the more favorably students generally perceived the traits of the other race, relative to students of their own race, the more friendliness black students reported.

With regard to white friendliness with Blacks, one additional factor has a moderate association with friendly contact. White students reported the most friendly contacts with black students in schools where all students were inclined to see other-race students as most tough, in comparison to students of their own race.

TABLE 5-18. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INTER-RACIAL FRIENDLINESS AND TWELVE FACTORS CONCERNING STUDENT EMOTIONS (CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS)

Student Emotions	Friendly Contact Black Students	Friendly Contact White Student
Loyalty to the School (less-more)		
1. Black students	+.29	+.36
2. White students	+.46	-.22
3. Black-white difference	+.16	-.55
4. School average	+.61	-.12
Relative Anger (less-more)		
1. Black students	+.35	-.71
2. White students	-.77	-.23
3. Black-white difference	+.87	-.12
4. School average	-.81	-.52
Relative Fear (less-more)		
1. Black students	+.12	-.47
2. White students	-.40	+.13
3. Black-white difference	-.37	+.28
4. School average	-.14	-.66

Emotions. Three factors dealing with student emotions were related strongly to black friendliness with Whites. All of these factors concerned anger. The data indicated that black friendliness with Whites was most common when white students in particular and students generally were least angry at members of the other race, in comparison to anger at students of their own race; and when the gap between black and white students in regard to anger was the largest. With regard to white friendliness with Blacks, only one factor was related strongly. White friendliness with Blacks was greatest when black students were least often angry at white students, in comparison to anger at students of their own race.

In addition to the factors mentioned above, which were related strongly to friendly contact, one other factor had a moderate association. That factor concerned students' loyalty to their schools. Black students were most friendly with white students at schools where students generally felt the greatest degree of loyalty to their school. Four other factors were moderately associated with the amount of friendly inter-racial contact experienced by white students. White friendliness with Blacks increased as black students' loyalty to their school increased; as the "loyalty gap" between black and white students diminished; as the whole student body's tendency to be more angry at members of the other race than their own race diminished; and as the student body's tendency to express more fear of other-race students than of students of their own race decreased.

Summary. We now summarize the variables which were associated most strongly (correlations of over .70) with the amount of friendly inter-racial contact reported by either black students or white students (see Table 5-19).

Looking at the results for black students first, black students were more likely to have friendly interactions with their white schoolmates in schools where:

1. Black parents had more favorable attitudes toward Whites.
2. Black students lived in more racially integrated neighborhoods (and there was greater difference between Blacks and Whites in this regard).
3. Black students had more friendly inter-racial contacts in their neighborhoods (and there was greater difference between Blacks and Whites in this regard).
4. Black students had more opportunity for inter-racial contact in grade schools (and there was more difference between Blacks and Whites in this regard).
5. Black students had more friendly inter-racial contacts in grade school (and there was more difference between Blacks and Whites in this regard).
6. Black students had more inter-racial contact generally

outside of their present high school (and there was more difference between Blacks and Whites in this regard).

7. Black students, and the student body as a whole, had more favorable opinions of other-race people prior to high school.

8. Students generally were less preoccupied with the presumed faults of the other race.

9. Black students had fewer unfriendly contacts (fights and arguments) with schoolmates of their own race.

10. There were fewer disciplinary incidents, in relation to the number of students, reported by the school to the central administration and a larger proportion of such incidents involved property damage rather than other offenses.

11. There was a relatively large difference in the extent to which black students, as compared to white students, saw the official means for solving student problems as effective.

12. Black students saw students of their own race as physically tougher than white students in their school.

13. The less often white students felt angry at black students; the less often students generally felt angry at other-race students; and the greater the difference in anger between black and white students.

Looking next at the strongest relationships for white students, white students were more likely to report friendly interaction with black students in schools where:

1. The parents of white students, and of all students in the school, had more positive attitudes toward the other race.

2. White students, and the student body generally, lived in neighborhoods which were less racially segregated.

3. White students, and the student body as a whole, had more friendly inter-racial contacts in their neighborhoods.

4. White students had more opportunity for inter-racial contact in grade school.

5. White students had more friendly contact with Blacks in grade school.

6. White students, and the student body generally, had more inter-racial contact in general outside of their present high school.

7. White students had more favorable opinions of black people prior to coming to their high school.

8. Black students were more preoccupied with presumed faults of their white schoolmates.

9. Black students participated more in extra-curricular activities.

10. The percentage of black students, and the number of black teachers, was larger.

11. The percentage of Blacks in the Academic program was higher.

12. White students, and the student body as a whole, saw Whites as higher than black students in both academic and non-academic status in the school.

13. White students had more power, in terms of holding more student offices.

14. A larger proportion of black students, of white students, and of the whole student body, participated in inter-racial groups trying to foster change in the school.

15. Black students saw the school administration as more responsive to student problems.

16. White students saw their white schoolmates as having more favorable attitudes toward Blacks (and the difference was greater between the way black students, as compared to white students, saw the racial attitudes of their peers).

17. Students generally saw their other-race schoolmates as having more positive personal traits.

18. Black students felt anger at white students less often.

TABLE 5-19. SUMMARY OF FACTORS RELATED STRONGLY TO FRIENDLY INTER-RACIAL CONTACT

	Friendly Contact	
Determinants	Black Students	White Students
Home Situation Factors		
Parents' Attitudes about Other Race		
Black parents	+.78	+.27
White parents	+.19	+.88
School average	+.12	+.83
Neighborhood and Grade School Factors		
Racial Composition of Neighborhood		
Black students	-.83	-.16
White students	+.10	-.93
Black-white difference	+.84	+.34
School average	+.13	-.80
Amount and Nature of Inter-racial Contact in Neighborhood		
Black students	+.87	-.16
White students	-.19	+.95
Black-white difference	+.84	+.32
School average	-.26	+.76
Opportunity for Contact in Grade School		
Black students	+.83	-.01
White students	-.16	+.80
Black-white difference	+.85	-.47
Amount and Nature of Contact in Grade School		
Black students	+.88	+.20
White students	-.23	+.80
Black-white difference	+.89	-.15
Amount of Contact Outside of High School Generally		
Black students	+.85	+.23
White students	-.23	+.92
Black-white difference	+.81	-.52
School average	-.31	+.85
Student Characteristics		
Opinions of Other Race before High School		
Black students	+.89	+.68
White students	+.45	+.83
School average	+.75	+.51
Preoccupation with Presumed Faults of Other Race		
Black students	+.12	+.84
School average	-.82	+.01

TABLE 5-19. SUMMARY OF FACTORS RELATED STRONGLY TO FRIENDLY
(cont.) INTER-RACIAL CONTACT

	Friendly Contact	
Determinants	Black Students	White Students
Extra-Curricular Activity		
Black students	+.35	+.83
Involvement in Unfriendly Intra-racial Contacts		
Black students	-.80	-.22
School Situation Factors		
Percent Black Students	-.45	+.78
Number of Black Teachers	-.17	+.73
Incident-Student Ratio	+.94	-.35
Incidents Involving Property Damage	+.83	-.12
Opportunities for Contact--None		
Conditions of Contact		
Percentage of Students in Academic Program		
Black students	+.26	+.86
Perceptions of Relative Academic Status		
White students	+.11	+.86
School average	+.15	+.95
Perceptions of Relative Nonacademic Status		
White students	+.40	+.78
School average	+.43	+.75
Student Power		
White students	+.08	+.72
Participation in Inter-racial Groups Fostering Change in School		
Black students	+.08	+.72
White students	-.45	+.94
School average	+.53	+.89
Perceptions of Effectiveness of Available Means for Solving Student Problems		
Black-white difference	+.93	-.30
Perceptions of Administrative Responsiveness to Student Problems		
Black students	-.39	+.72
Peer Attitudes about Other Race		
White students	+.22	+.92
Black-white difference	+.30	+.84

TABLE 5-19. (cont.) SUMMARY OF FACTORS RELATED STRONGLY TO FRIENDLY INTER-RACIAL CONTACT

Determinants	Friendly Contact	
	Black Students	White Students
Perceptions of Other Race		
Perceptions of Relative Toughness		
Black students	-.71	+.08
Perceptions of Relative Goodness		
School average	+.52	+.80
Student Emotions		
Relative Anger		
Black students	+.35	-.71
White students	-.77	-.23
Black-white difference	+.87	-.12
School average	-.81	-.52

As a second way of summarizing the results concerning friendly inter-racial contact, we consider next the types of factors (see the conceptual model in Chapter 2) which were correlated with friendly contact at .50 or above (see Table 5-20). Of the factors associated with friendly contact reported by black students, 30 percent came from the "neighborhood and grade school" cell of the model and another 20 percent came from the "conditions of contact" cell. Next in their order of importance were the following cells: student characteristics, school situation, perceptions of the other race, student emotions, home situation, and opportunities for contact.

With respect to the amount of friendly inter-racial contact reported by Whites, the "conditions of contact" cell stood out above all others (providing 42% of the related variables). The only other cells in the conceptual model which contributed more than 10% of the variables associated with friendly contact were the cells pertaining to neighborhood and grade school and to student characteristics.

TABLE 5-20. SUMMARY OF THE CONTRIBUTIONS EACH CELL IN THE MODEL MADE TO THE TOTAL NUMBER OF VARIABLES RELATED TO INTERRACIAL FRIENDLY CONTACT*

	Total Factors		Factors significant for: Black Students		White Students	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Home Situation	24	10	3	6	4	5
Neighborhood and Grade School	40	17	15	30	15	18
Student Characteristics	28	12	8	14	11	13
School Situation	39	17	5	10	7	8
Opportunities for Contact	8	3	1	2	5	6
Conditions of Contact	75	32	10	20	35	42
Perceptions of Other Race	8	3	5	10	2	2
Student Emotions	12	5	4	8	5	6
TOTAL	234	99	50	100	84	100

*When the percentage for any cell under either "Black Students" or "White Students" is different from the comparable percentage under "Total Factors" by 10 percent or more, that cell is said to be either over-represented or under-represented on the final list of significant variables. When the difference between the columns is less than 10 percent, that cell is said to be proportionately represented.

The importance of each set of variables must be considered also in terms of the percentage of variables in each cell which were associated with friendly inter-racial contact, in relation to the percentage of variables in that cell which were considered in the analysis. In this way, we can assess whether any sets of factors were over-represented or under-represented as predictors of friendly contact. When we look at the summary data from this viewpoint, the following picture emerges: In regard to friendly inter-racial contact of black students, neighborhood and grade school factors were somewhat over-represented, while the conditions of contact in the school were somewhat under-represented, as correlates of friendly contact with Whites. For friendly inter-racial contacts reported by white students, conditions of contact in the school were somewhat over-represented as correlates of friendly contact, while factors in the other cells were represented about in proportion to their representation in our total list of possible predictors.

Unfriendliness

Having examined the factors which are associated with interracial avoidance, and with friendly interaction between the races, we turn last to a consideration of unfriendly behavior. What factors are associated with the average amount of unfriendly behavior which black students and white students direct toward students of the other race?

Our measure of unfriendly behavior (see Appendix B) is based on three items concerning the frequency during the semester that each student reported a) getting into an argument with other-race student(s); b) being pushed or hit by other-race student(s) and pushing or hitting back; and c) getting so mad at a student of the other race that he pushed or hit that person first. As in previous sections of the chapter, we will examine in turn the association between the behavior in question (in this case unfriendly behavior) and each of several sets of possible predictors of that behavior.

Home Situation. None of the home situation factors was related strongly (a correlation of over .70) to the unfriendliness reported by black or white students (see Table 5-21). However, several variables concerning the students' family backgrounds were related moderately (correlations of .50 to .70) to unfriendliness in the schools.

Black unfriendliness was negatively related to six family factors and positively related to two others. These data indicated that black unfriendliness was most common when white students' parents had the most limited educations; the educational levels of black and white parents were most similar; black and white parents maintained negative attitudes about the other race; black parents in particular and parents generally were least concerned about their children's futures; black families were largest and least likely to be headed by both a father and a mother; and

TABLE 5-21. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INTER-RACIAL UNFRIENDLINESS AND TWENTY-FOUR HOME SITUATION FACTORS (CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS)

	Unfriendliness	
Home Situation Factors	Black Students	White Students
Parents' Education (less-more)		
1. Black parents	-.29	-.27
2. White parents	-.53	-.37
3. Black-white difference	-.60	-.56
4. School average	-.37	-.37
Parents' Attitudes about Other Race (unfavorable-favorable)		
1. Black parents	-.49	-.22
2. White parents	-.44	-.15
3. Black-white difference	-.24	-.12
4. School average	-.65	+.01
Parental Concern about Students' Schoolwork (less-more)		
1. Black parents	-.26	-.02
2. White parents	-.05	+.06
3. Black-white difference	-.21	-.11
4. School average	-.28	+.21
Parental Concern about Students' Futures (less-more)		
1. Black parents	-.55	-.55
2. White parents	-.11	-.09
3. Black-white difference	-.26	-.45
4. School average	-.56	-.13
Family Size (small-large)		
1. Black families	+.57	+.30
2. White families	+.22	+.47
3. Black-white difference	+.40	-.03
4. School average	+.15	+.50
Family Structure (both parents present)		
1. Black families	-.60	-.36
2. White families	-.17	-.37
3. Black-white difference	+.60	+.16
4. School average	+.05	-.48

there was a considerable difference in the percentage of black and white students living in broken families.

White unfriendliness was associated with three home situation factors. These variables indicated that white students were most unfriendly toward Blacks in schools where the educations of black and white parents were most similar; black parents were least concerned about their children's futures; and black and white students generally came from large families.

Neighborhood and Grade School. None of the neighborhood or grade school factors was associated strongly with the amount of unfriendly behavior which black students reported (see Table 5-22). However, four factors were associated strongly with white unfriendliness. White unfriendliness was most common in schools where: relatively few white students took less than 15 minutes to travel to school in the mornings; the percentage of white students riding a bus to school was highest; the difference was largest between the percentages of white and black students riding buses to school; and black students reported having the least friendly contacts with Whites outside of high school generally.

In addition to the strong associations noted above, a number of moderate associations are also present in the data. Black unfriendliness increased as the proportion of white students living in racially segregated neighborhoods increased. White unfriendliness also increased with the percentage of black students riding buses to school and the percentage of black students who had experienced little friendly contact with Whites in their neighborhoods. White unfriendliness also increased as black students' reports of contacts with Whites outside of high school decreased, and as students generally reported little friendly inter-racial contact outside of high school. Finally, the greater the difference between the nature of black and white students' contacts with the other race outside of high school, the more white unfriendliness there was in the schools.

TABLE 5-22. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INTER-RACIAL UNFRIENDLINESS AND FORTY FACTORS CONCERNING STUDENTS' NEIGHBORHOODS AND GRADE SCHOOLS (CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS)

	Unfriendliness	
Neighborhood and Grade School Factors	Black Students	White Students
NEIGHBORHOOD FACTORS		
Amount of Time to get to School in Morning (% less than 15 minutes)		
1. Black students	-.48	+.25
2. White students	-.01	-.72
3. Black-white difference	+.26	-.16
4. School average	-.01	-.40
Racial Composition of Neighborhood (% in segregated neighborhoods)		
1. Black students	-.30	+.48
2. White students	+.55	+.14
3. Black-white difference	+.16	-.40
4. School average	+.39	+.24
Mode of Transportation to School (% taking school bus)		
1. Black students	+.10	+.60
2. White students	-.17	+.79
3. Black-white difference	-.23	+.74
4. School average	+.23	+.33
Amount and Nature of Inter-racial Contact in Neighborhood (more unfriendly-more friendly)		
1. Black students	+.24	-.59
2. White students	-.38	-.14
3. Black-white difference	-.11	-.49
4. School average	-.18	-.33
GRADE SCHOOL FACTORS		
Opportunity for Inter-racial Contact (less-more)		
1. Black students	+.43	-.29
2. White students	-.22	-.12
3. Black-white difference	+.42	+.10
4. School average	+.07	-.29
Amount and Nature of Inter-racial Contact in Grade School (more unfriendly-more friendly)		
1. Black students	+.31	-.39
2. White students	-.28	+.19
3. Black-white difference	+.09	+.19
4. School average	-.09	+.00

TABLE 5-22. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INTER-RACIAL UNFRIENDLINESS AND
(cont.) FORTY FACTORS CONCERNING STUDENTS' NEIGHBORHOODS AND GRADE SCHOOLS (CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS)

	Unfriendliness	
Neighborhood and Grade School Factors	Black Students	White Students
GENERAL FACTORS		
Amount of Inter-racial Contact Outside High School Generally (less-more)		
1. Black students	+.18	-.56
2. White students	-.36	-.03
3. Black-white difference	+.25	-.37
4. School average	-.31	-.14
Nature of Contact Outside High School Generally (unfriendly-friendly)		
1. Black students	-.25	-.84
2. White students	-.46	-.10
3. Black-white difference	+.07	+.70
4. School average	-.04	-.56
Age When First Met Other-Race Person (% before 10 years)		
1. Black students	+.20	+.29
2. White students	+.27	-.20
3. Black-white difference	-.11	-.18
4. School average	+.25	+.09
Other-Race Friends before High School (% having none)		
1. Black students	-.47	+.03
2. White students	+.28	+.03
3. Black-white difference	+.34	+.18
4. School average	+.12	+.10

Student Characteristics. One of the factors pertinent to student qualities was related strongly to unfriendly behavior by black students (see Table 5-23). The larger the difference between black and white students' reports of being involved in unfriendly contacts with students of their own race, the more black unfriendliness toward Whites there was in the schools. None of the student characteristics was related strongly to the unfriendliness reported by white students.

However, several factors were related moderately to the amount of unfriendliness that black and white students reported. Two factors were positively associated with black unfriendliness: the extent to which black students' academic behaviors were more incompatible than compatible with academic achievement, and the extent of the difference between the black and white students' academic behaviors. The data indicated also that white students were most unfriendly with Blacks in schools where black and white students (separately and combined) were most satisfied with their life circumstances and were least active in school clubs and activities. White unfriendliness also was common in schools where white students were most preoccupied with presumed faults of black students and where the levels of ethnocentrism among black and white students were most similar.

School Situation. None of the school factors achieved a correlation of over .70 with black unfriendliness (see Table 5-24). However, three factors were related to white unfriendliness beyond this level. The less white students in particular and students generally preferred attending their present school before they actually enrolled, the more likely white students were to report unfriendly behaviors toward black students. Also, the data indicated that the schools with the most white unfriendliness were the schools where inter-racial fights constituted the largest proportion of all the fights reported by school officials during the 1970-71 school year.

TABLE 5-23. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INTER-RACIAL UNFRIENDLINESS AND TWENTY-EIGHT CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STUDENTS (CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS)

	Unfriendliness	
Student Characteristics	Black Students	White Students
Opinions of Other Race before High School (unfavorable-favorable)		
1. Black students	-.06	-.16
2. White students	-.07	-.36
3. Black-white difference	-.03	+.15
4. School average	+.27	-.29
Satisfaction with Life Circumstances (less-more)		
1. Black students	+.32	+.61
2. White students	+.33	+.55
3. Black-white difference	-.10	-.04
4. School average	+.41	+.70
Racial Ethnocentrism (less-more)		
1. Black students	+.24	-.04
2. White students	-.44	+.15
3. Black-white difference	+.15	-.53
4. School average	-.35	+.25
Preoccupation with Presumed Faults of Other Race (less-more)		
1. Black students	-.48	-.12
2. White students	+.00	+.55
3. Black-white difference	-.38	+.31
4. School average	-.19	+.36
Extra-curricular Activity (less-more)		
1. Black students	-.49	-.61
2. White students	-.33	-.63
3. Black-white difference	+.03	-.45
4. School average	-.32	-.69
Involvement in Unfriendly Intra-racial Contacts (less-more)		
1. Black students	+.45	+.36
2. White students	-.33	+.35
3. Black-white difference	+.74	+.06
4. School average	+.01	+.37
Net Behavior toward Academic Goals (toward-away from)		
1. Black students	+.58	+.49
2. White students	-.11	+.17
3. Black-white difference	+.63	+.39
4. School average	-.23	+.39

TABLE 5-24. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INTER-RACIAL UNFRIENDLINESS AND THIRTY-NINE FACTORS CONCERNING THE SCHOOL SITUATION (CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS)

	Unfriendliness	
School Factors	Black Students	White Students
Student Body		
1. Size (small-large)	-.07	-.49
2. Number black students (small-large)	-.33	-.24
3. Number white students (small-large)	+.20	-.52
4. % black students	-.55	+.17
5. % change in racial composition 1965-1970 (small-large)	-.09	-.12
6. % change in racial composition 1969-1970 (small-large)	+.24	+.04
7. Maximum percent difference in racial composition of four classes (small-large)	-.30	-.22
8. Preference for present high school before enrollment (less-more)		
Black students	-.52	-.55
White students	+.01	-.76
Black-white difference	+.40	-.01
School average	-.01	-.77
Staff		
1. Number of faculty (small-large)	-.01	-.42
2. Number of white teachers (small-large)	+.06	-.41
3. Number of black teachers (small-large)	-.52	-.26
4. % black teachers (small-large)	-.47	+.57
5. Faculty-student ratio (small-large)	-.03	-.64
6. White faculty-white student ratio (small-large)	+.32	-.27
7. Black faculty-black student ratio (small-large)	-.15	-.24
8. Adequacy of teaching staff (less-more)	-.13	+.22
9. Adequacy of counselors (less-more)	+.08	+.42
10. Adequacy of teachers and counselors (less-more)	-.02	+.33
11. Number of security guards (small-large)	-.32	-.18
12. Adequacy of security guards (less-more)	-.30	+.35
13. Strictness of administration (less-more)	+.28	+.05
General		
1. Age of school (young-old)	+.17	-.25
2. Adequacy of facilities (less-more)	-.11	+.17
3. Number of incidents reported in 1970 (small-large)	+.01	-.14
4. Incident-student ratio (small-large)	+.13	-.29

TABLE 5-24. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INTER-RACIAL UNFRIENDLINESS AND THIRTY-NINE
(cont.) FACTORS CONCERNING THE SCHOOL SITUATION (CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS)

	Unfriendliness	
School Factors	Black Students	White Students
5. Percent incidents involving: (small-large)		
interpersonal harm	+.25	+.01
property damage	-.10	+.03
narcotics or alcohol	-.20	-.28
trespassing or vandalism	-.20	-.41
theft	+.17	+.11
miscellaneous	+.27	+.01
6. Number of reported fights (small-large)	+.02	-.12
7. Number of intra-racial fights (small-large)	+.00	-.14
8. Black intra-racial fights as % of all reported intra-racial fights (small-large)	-.01	-.65
9. Number of inter-racial fights (small-large)	-.13	+.02
10. Inter-racial fights as % of all reported fights (small-large)	-.41	+.72

Three school factors were moderately related to the amount of black unfriendliness. Black unfriendliness increased as the percentage of black students in the student body decreased; as the percentage of black students preferring their school diminished; and as the number of black teachers decreased.

In regard to white unfriendliness, five other factors should be mentioned. White unfriendliness increased as the number of white students in the student body decreased; as the percentage of black students preferring their school before enrollment diminished; as the percentage of black teachers increased; as the faculty-student ratio decreased; and as the ratio of black intra-racial fights to all reported intra-racial fights decreased.

TABLE 5-25. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INTER-RACIAL UNFRIENDLINESS AND EIGHT FACTORS CONCERNING OPPORTUNITIES FOR INTER-RACIAL CONTACT (CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS)

Opportunities for Contact	Unfriendliness Black Students	Unfriendliness White Students
Opportunities in Class (less-more)		
1. Black students	+.26	-.37
2. White students	-.52	+.13
3. Black-white difference	-.29	-.46
4. School average	+.05	-.05
Opportunities Around School (less-more)		
1. Black students	+.25	+.08
2. White students	-.28	+.27
3. Black-white difference	-.71	-.43
4. School average	+.12	+.43

Opportunities for Contact. One of the opportunity for contact factors was strongly related to black unfriendliness (see Table 5-25). Black unfriendliness was most common in schools where black and white students' opportunities for interaction around school were most nearly equal. The data also suggested that black unfriendliness increased as white students' opportunities for inter-racial contact in class diminished. None of the opportunities for contact factors was correlated with white unfriendliness at .50 or above.

Conditions of Contact. Only one of the 75 conditions of contact which were examined were strongly related (a correlation of over .70) to the amount of unfriendliness black students reported (see Table 5-26). Black students were most unfriendly with white students in schools where black students reported their closest peers had the most unfavorable attitudes about interaction with Whites. One other variable was strongly related to white unfriendliness. White unfriendliness increased as the (office-holding) power possessed by white students in the school diminished.

Although few of the conditions we examined were highly related to unfriendly inter-racial behavior, a number of conditions had moderate associations (between .50 and .70) with such behavior. In fact, eighteen variables were related to black unfriendliness at this level. Black students were more unfriendly with white students in schools where: (a) relatively few black and white students (separately and combined) were in the Academic program; (b) black and white students--separately and combined--had relatively low educational aspirations; (c) white students in particular and the student body generally were less likely to view black students as having lower academic status than white students had; (d) white students were less likely to perceive black students as having lower nonacademic status than Whites had; (e) there was a relatively small gap between the average levels of power possessed by black and white students; (f) black students were less likely to adhere to conventional norms of school behavior and white students were more likely to adhere to such norms; (g) white students were less inclined to see their goals as compatible with those of black students; (h) black students were less involved in inter-racial groups designed to foster change in the schools; (i) black students were less likely to perceive the available means of solving problems as effective; (j) black students were less likely to perceive the school administration as responsive to student problems; (k) there was a greater gap between black and white students' evaluations of their teachers; and (l) white students said their closest peers had more unfavorable attitudes about Whites interacting with Blacks.

White student unfriendliness with black students was more common in schools where: (a) there were larger differences between the black and white students' perceptions of their relative nonacademic status; (b) white students were more likely to view black students as having more overall power than white students had; (c) black students had more power (in terms of offices held) than their counterparts in other schools had; (d) the students generally

TABLE 5-26. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INTER-RACIAL UNFRIENDLINESS AND SEVENTY-FIVE CONDITIONS OF INTER-RACIAL CONTACT (CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS)

	Unfriendliness	
Conditions of Contact	Black Students	White Students
Relative Academic Status		
Percentage of Students in Academic Programs (small-large)		
1. Black students	-.63	-.15
2. White students	-.63	-.41
3. Black-white difference	-.12	-.45
4. School average	-.55	-.40
Percentage of Students Ever on Honor Roll (small-large)		
1. Black students	-.27	+.04
2. White students	-.42	+.14
3. Black-white difference	+.02	-.07
4. School average	-.25	+.07
Perceptions of Relative Academic Status (Blacks higher-Whites higher)		
1. Black students	-.45	-.43
2. White students	-.65	+.10
3. Black-white difference	-.34	+.29
4. School average	-.66	-.10
Relative Nonacademic (Social) Status		
Perceptions of Relative Nonacademic Status (Blacks higher-Whites higher)		
1. Black students	-.40	-.48
2. White students	-.51	-.35
3. Black-white difference	+.01	+.63
4. School average	-.46	-.47
Percentage of Students Ever Won Prize (small-large)		
1. Black students	-.15	-.46
2. White students	-.12	-.39
3. Black-white difference	+.24	-.02
4. School average	-.11	-.47
Perceptions of Favoritism toward Whites (less-more)		
1. Black students	+.37	-.18
2. White students	+.35	-.17
3. Black-white difference	+.40	-.21
4. School average	+.32	-.18
Perceptions of Favoritism toward Blacks (less-more)		
1. Black students	+.34	-.20
2. White students	+.37	-.12
3. Black-white difference	-.41	-.48
4. School average	+.34	-.15

TABLE 5-26. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INTER-RACIAL UNFRIENDLINESS AND
(cont.) SEVENTY-FIVE CONDITIONS OF INTER-RACIAL CONTACT
(CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS)

Conditions of Contact	Unfriendliness Black Students	Unfriendliness White Students
Relative Power		
Perceptions of Relative Power (Whites-Blacks)		
1. Black students	+.30	-.09
2. White students	-.46	+.51
3. Black-white difference	+.14	-.09
4. School average	-.26	+.40
Student Power (less-more)		
1. Black students	-.08	+.63
2. White students	-.38	-.72
3. Black-white difference	-.50	+.14
Similarity		
Adherence to Conventional School Norms (less-more)		
1. Black students	-.67	+.07
2. White students	+.53	+.43
3. Black-white difference	+.38	-.07
4. School average	+.21	+.52
Students' Educational Aspirations (low-high)		
1. Black students	-.59	-.49
2. White students	-.52	-.33
3. Black-white difference	+.41	-.32
4. School average	-.53	-.33
Students' Occupational Aspirations (low-high)		
1. Black students	+.41	+.49
2. White students	+.45	+.48
3. Black-white difference	+.06	-.36
4. School average	+.32	+.46
Compatibility of Goals		
Perceptions of Goal Compatibility (less-more)		
1. Black students	-.04	+.10
2. White students	-.50	-.48
3. Black-white difference	-.40	-.54
4. School average	-.31	-.42
Participation in Inter-racial Groups Fostering Change in School (less-more)		
1. Black students	-.54	-.19
2. White students	-.47	-.13
3. Black-white difference	-.22	+.03
4. School average	-.49	-.12

TABLE 5-26. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INTER-RACIAL UNFRIENDLINESS AND
(cont.) SEVENTY-FIVE CONDITIONS OF INTER-RACIAL CONTACT
(CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS)

	Unfriendliness	
Conditions of Contact	Black Students	White Students
Problem-Solving Mechanisms		
Perceptions of Effectiveness of Available Means (less-more)		
1. Black students	-.52	+.22
2. White students	-.41	+.25
3. Black-white difference	+.21	+.07
4. School average	-.48	+.27
Perceptions of Administration Strictness (less-more)		
1. Black students	+.08	+.19
2. White students	+.07	-.52
3. Black-white difference	+.07	+.54
4. School average	-.05	-.34
Perceptions of Administrative Responsiveness to Student Problems (less-more)		
1. Black students	-.54	+.33
2. White students	-.26	+.56
3. Black-white difference	+.11	-.01
4. School average	-.23	+.49
Students' Evaluation of Teachers (negative-positive)		
1. Black students	-.14	-.30
2. White students	+.42	+.44
3. Black-white difference	+.50	+.58
4. School average	+.43	+.06
Peer Attitudes about Other Race (negative-positive)		
1. Black students	-.75	-.11
2. White students	-.54	-.17
3. Black-white difference	-.22	-.14
4. School average	-.33	-.14

TABLE 5-27. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INTER-RACIAL UNFRIENDLINESS AND EIGHT FACTORS CONCERNING INTER-GROUP PERCEPTIONS (CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS)

	Unfriendliness	
Perceptions of the Other Race	Black Students	White Students
Relative Toughness (own race tougher-other race tougher)		
1. Black students	-.30	+.06
2. White students	-.37	-.34
3. Black-white difference	+.17	+.38
4. School average	-.66	-.05
Relative Goodness (own race better-other race better)		
1. Black students	-.33	-.35
2. White students	-.12	-.18
3. Black-white difference	-.21	-.19
4. School average	-.49	-.26

were more inclined to adhere to conventional school norms regarding appropriate behavior; (e) black and white students' views of the extent of incompatibility of their goals were more similar; (f) white students were less likely to view the school administration as strict and there was a larger difference between black and white students in this regard; (g) white students were more likely to perceive the administration as responsive to student problems; and (h) the black and white students' evaluations of their teachers were more different.

Perceptions of the Other Race. None of the factors pertaining to perceptions of the other race was strongly related to either black or white unfriendliness (see Table 5-27). Indeed, none of the factors explained any more than 15 percent of the white variance. However, one factor dealing with perceptions of relative toughness was related to black unfriendliness. The less students generally perceived the other race as tougher than their own race, the more unfriendly contact black students reported.

TABLE 5-28. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INTER-RACIAL UNFRIENDLINESS AND TWELVE FACTORS CONCERNING STUDENT EMOTIONS (CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS)

	Unfriendliness	
Student Emotions	Black Students	White Students
Loyalty to the School (less-more)		
1. Black students	-.73	-.41
2. White students	+.12	-.46
3. Black-white difference	+.50	+.18
4. School average	+.04	-.49
Relative Anger (less-more)		
1. Black students	+.58	+.18
2. White students	+.16	+.64
3. Black-white difference	+.02	+.47
4. School average	+.03	+.50
Relative Fear (less-more)		
1. Black students	+.57	-.22
2. White students	-.34	+.24
3. Black-white difference	-.48	+.28
4. School average	+.32	-.07

Student Emotions. Only one variable concerning student emotions was highly related to black unfriendliness (see Table 5-28). Black unfriendliness with white students was most likely at schools where black students felt least loyalty to the school. None of the emotion factors was strongly related to unfriendly behavior by white students.

Black unfriendliness also seemed to vary moderately with other emotions. The schools where black students were more likely to be unfriendly with white students were those where black students were more angry with and fearful of white students than they were with one another, and where the black-white difference in regard to school loyalty was relatively large. Turning to white unfriendliness, we find two factors were moderately related to such behavior.

White unfriendliness was more common when white students in particular and students generally expressed more anger toward other-race students than they did toward students of their own race.

Summary. An overview of the factors which were strongly related to black or to white unfriendliness (i.e., having correlations of above .70) reveals that--compared to the previous two sections of this chapter--our summary involves relatively few variables (see Table 5-29). In fact, only four factors stand out in regard to black unfriendliness. Black students were most unfriendly with white students at schools where black and white students were most different in terms of their involvement in unfriendly behavior within their respective racial groups; where black and white students were most similar in terms of their opportunities for inter-racial contact around school generally; where black students were most likely to report their closest peers having unfavorable attitudes about interaction with Whites; and where black students had the least feeling of loyalty to their present school.

White unfriendliness was strongly associated with eight other factors. White students were most unfriendly with black students at schools where it took a relatively large percentage of white students over 15 minutes to get to school in the mornings; white students were most likely to ride buses to school; the percentages of black and white students riding school buses were most different; black students reported having the least friendly contacts with Whites outside of high school generally; white students in particular and students generally expressed least preference for their school before enrollment; inter-racial fights were a large proportion of all the fights reported during the 1970-71 school year; and white students had relatively little power (in terms of office-holding) compared to their white counterparts at other schools.

TABLE 5-29. SUMMARY OF FACTORS RELATED STRONGLY TO UNFRIENDLY INTER-RACIAL CONTACT

Determinants	Unfriendliness Black Students	 White Students
Home Situation--None		
Neighborhood and Grade School Factors		
Amount of Time to Get to School in Morning		
White students	-.01	-.72
Mode of Transportation (% using bus)		
White students	-.17	+.79
Black-white difference	-.23	+.74
Friendly Inter-racial Contact Outside High School Generally		
Black students	-.25	-.84
Student Characteristics		
Involvement in Unfriendly Intra-racial Contacts		
Black-white difference	+.74	+.06
School Situation		
Preference for Present High School before Enrollment		
White students	+.01	-.76
School average	-.01	-.77
Inter-racial Fights As % of All Reported Fights	-.41	+.72
Opportunities for Contact		
Opportunities around School		
Black-white difference	-.71	-.43
Conditions of Contact		
Student Power		
White students	-.38	-.72
Peer Attitudes about Other Race		
Black students	-.75	-.11
Perceptions of Other Race--None		
Student Emotions		
Loyalty		
Black students	-.73	-.41

Now let us turn to the total number of factors which were related at least moderately (correlations of .50 or above) to either black or white unfriendliness in the schools. The data (see Table 5-30) indicate that nearly half (46 percent) of all the factors associated with black unfriendliness pertained to the conditions of inter-racial contact. Another fifth of the determinants had to do with students' home backgrounds. Another 10 percent concerned student emotions. The other cells of our conceptual model (see Chapter 2) contributed fewer significant variables. While conditions of contact tended to dominate all other cells in regard to black unfriendliness, the data concerning white unfriendliness yield a different picture. Four cells of the model--conditions of contact, neighborhood and grade school, student characteristics, and school situation--each contributed between 20 and 25 percent of the factors that were associated with white unfriendliness with Blacks. The other cells contributed only a few "significant" factors.

Finally, let us look at the data in terms of the cells which contributed more than their expected number of important determinants (i.e., by comparing the percentage of significant variables found in each set with the percentage of the total number of variables which this set represents). In regard to black unfriendliness, the conditions of contact and home situation cells were over-represented. Cells which contributed less than their share of determinants for Blacks were neighborhood and grade school, and school situation. All other cells were about proportionately represented in the list of significant factors. In regard to white unfriendliness, all of the sets of variables were represented in the list of significant correlates in about the same proportion as they were represented in the total list of variables examined.

TABLE 5-30. SUMMARY OF THE CONTRIBUTIONS EACH CELL IN THE MODEL MADE TO THE TOTAL NUMBER OF VARIABLES RELATED TO INTER-RACIAL UNFRIENDLY CONTACT*

	Total Factors		Factors significant for: Black Students		White Students	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Home Situation	24	10	8	20	3	8
Neighborhood and Grade School	40	17	1	2	9	23
Student Characteristics	28	12	3	7	8	20
School Situation	39	17	3	7	8	20
Opportunities for Contact	8	3	2	5	0	0
Conditions of Contact	75	32	19	46	10	25
Perceptions of Other Race	8	3	1	2	0	0
Student Emotions	12	5	4	10	2	5
TOTAL	234	99	41	99	40	101

*When the percentage for any cell under either "Black Students" or "White Students" is different from the comparable percentage under "Total Factors" by 10 percent or more, that cell is said to be either over-represented or under-represented on the final list of significant variables. When the difference between the columns is less than 10 percent, that cell is said to be proportionately represented.

Summary

In this chapter we have focused on the relationships between 234 specific variables and three types of inter-racial interaction. For each racial group, we have highlighted those specific factors which were strongly related to each type of interaction (i.e., were correlated with each .70 or above). We also have indicated the extent to which each cell in our model has been over-represented, proportionately-represented, or under-represented in the complete lists of variables which were correlated at least .50 with the black and white students' behaviors. Now we will provide an overview of the major patterns we have observed.

First, let us turn to the factors which were most strongly related to the dependent variables (see Table 5-31). The "home situation" cell of our model produced one important set of factors which pertained to parents' racial attitudes. The evidence indicates that the more favorable black parents' attitudes are about white people, the less likely their children are to avoid Whites and the more likely they are to report friendly contacts with white students. Also, the more favorable white parents' attitudes are about black people, the more friendly contacts white students have with black students. Finally, black avoidance tends to increase when parents generally have more negative racial attitudes, and white friendliness with Blacks increases when parents generally have the most favorable attitudes.

The neighborhood and grade school cell of the model produced several more "significant" variables. In general, the data support the conclusion that students' inter-racial experiences in high school are affected by the racial composition of students' neighborhoods and the amount and nature of the inter-racial contact students have in their neighborhoods, grade schools, and outside of high school generally. More specifically, the data indicate that favorable and extensive inter-racial experiences in these extra-school settings are associated with inter-racial friendliness in high school.

None of the neighborhood and grade school factors had a strong association with black students' avoidance of, or unfriendliness with, Whites. However, four factors in this set were strongly associated with white avoidance and/or unfriendliness. Either or both of these behaviors by Whites was more common in schools where: the length of time it took white students to travel to school in the morning was greater; the percentage of white students riding school buses was greater; the difference between the percentages of black and white students riding school buses was larger; and black students had fewer friendly contacts outside of high school generally.

The student characteristics cell of the model also produced some significant variables. Again, most of the variables had more bearing on friendliness than they did on either avoidance or unfriendliness. The data indicate that students' social psychological orientations--specifically, their opinions of other-race people before high school and their preoccupations with the presumed faults of other-race people--affected their behavior. Black and white friendliness was associated with students' having favorable attitudes about the other race before enrolling in high school.

More friendly inter-racial contact by black students was also reported in schools where there was less preoccupation with the presumed faults of the other race, in the student body as a whole. Also, white avoidance of black students was associated with a tendency for white students to be preoccupied with thoughts about black students' presumed faults. However, friendly inter-racial contact by white students was more likely in schools where Blacks reported some preoccupation with white faults.

The data also indicated that as black students' participation in extra-curricular activities increased, the amount of friendly inter-racial contact reported by white students increased. Also, the higher the level of unfriendly interaction among Blacks in a school, the less the friendly interaction with Whites the black students reported.

TABLE 5-31. SUMMARY OF THE SPECIFIC VARIABLES WHICH ARE MOST STRONGLY ASSOCIATED (CORRELATIONS OVER .70) WITH THE AVOIDANCE, FRIENDLY CONTACT, OR UNFRIENDLY CONTACT REPORTED BY BLACK AND WHITE STUDENTS

	Avoidance		Friendly Contact		Unfriendly Contact	
Determinants	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
Home Situation						
Parents' Attitudes about Other Race						
Black parents	-.72	-.00	+.78	+.27		
White parents			+.19	+.88		
School average	-.81	-.15	+.12	+.83		
Neighborhood and Grade School						
Racial Composition of Neighborhood						
Black students			-.83	-.16		
White students			+.10	-.93		
Black-white difference			+.84	+.34		
School average			+.13	-.80		
Amount of Time to Get to School in Morning						
White students					-.01	-.72
Mode of Transportation (Bus)						
White students	-.30	+.86			-.17	+.79
Black-white difference	-.33	+.87			-.23	+.74
Amount and Nature of Inter-racial Contact in Neighborhood						
Black students			+.87	-.16		
White students			-.19	+.95		
Black-white difference			+.84	+.32		
School average			-.26	+.76		

TABLE 5-31. SUMMARY OF THE SPECIFIC VARIABLES WHICH ARE MOST STRONGLY ASSOCIATED (CORRELATIONS OVER .70)
(cont.) WITH THE AVOIDANCE, FRIENDLY CONTACT, OR UNFRIENDLY CONTACT REPORTED BY BLACK AND WHITE STUDENTS

	Avoidance		Friendly Contact		Unfriendly Contact	
Determinants	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
Opportunity for Contact in Grade School						
Black students			+.83	-.01		
White students			-.16	+.80		
Black-white difference			+.85	-.47		
Amount and Nature of Contact in Grade School						
Black students			+.88	+.20		
White students			-.23	+.80		
Black-white difference			+.89	-.15		
Amount of Contact Outside of High School Generally						
Black students			+.85	+.23		
White students			-.23	+.92		
Black-white difference			+.81	-.52		
School average			-.31	+.85		
Nature of Contact Outside of High School Generally						
Black students					-.25	-.84
Student Characteristics						
Opinions about Other Race before High School						
Black students			+.89	+.68		
White students			+.45	+.83		
Black-white difference	-.16	-.76				
School average			+.75	+.51		

TABLE 5-31. SUMMARY OF THE SPECIFIC VARIABLES WHICH ARE MOST STRONGLY ASSOCIATED (CORRELATIONS OVER .70)
(cont.) WITH THE AVOIDANCE, FRIENDLY CONTACT, OR UNFRIENDLY CONTACT REPORTED BY BLACK AND WHITE STUDENTS

	Avoidance		Friendly Contact		Unfriendly Contact	
Determinants	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
Preoccupation with Presumed Faults of Other Race						
Black students			+.12	+.84		
White students	+.08	+.90				
School average			-.82	+.01		
Extra-Curricular Activity						
Black students			+.35	+.83		
Involvement in Intra-racial Unfriendliness						
Black students			-.80	-.22		
Black-white difference					+.74	+.06
School Situation						
Percent Black Students			-.45	+.78		
Number of Black Teachers			-.17	+.73		
Incident-Student Ratio			+.94	-.35		
Incidents Involving Property Damage			+.83	-.12		
Black Intra-racial Fights As % of All Reported Intra-racial Fights	+.11	-.87				
Inter-racial Fights As % of All Reported Fights					-.41	+.72
Preference for Present High School before Enrollment						
White students	+.19	-.85			+.01	-.76
School average	+.11	-.89			-.01	-.77

TABLE 5-31. (cont.) SUMMARY OF THE SPECIFIC VARIABLES WHICH ARE MOST STRONGLY ASSOCIATED (CORRELATIONS OVER .70) WITH THE AVOIDANCE, FRIENDLY CONTACT, OR UNFRIENDLY CONTACT REPORTED BY BLACK AND WHITE STUDENTS

Determinants	Avoidance		Friendly Contact		Unfriendly Contact	
	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
Opportunities for Contact						
Opportunities for Contact in Class						
White students	-.77	-.16				
Opportunities around School						
Black-white difference					-.71	-.43
Conditions of Contact						
Perceptions of Relative Academic Status						
White students	-.76	-.04	+.11	+.86		
School average			+.15	+.95		
Percent of Students in Academic Program						
Black students			+.26	+.86		
Perceptions of Relative Nonacademic Status						
Black students	-.47	-.72				
White students			+.40	+.78		
Black-white difference	-.25	+.81				
School average			+.43	+.75		
Perceptions of Relative Power						
White students	-.71	+.58				
School average	-.35	+.78				
Student Power						
White students	-.20	-.82	+.08	+.72	-.38	-.72
Adherence to Conventional School Norms						
Black students	-.80	+.09				

TABLE 5-31. SUMMARY OF THE SPECIFIC VARIABLES WHICH ARE MOST STRONGLY ASSOCIATED (CORRELATIONS OVER .70)
(cont.) WITH THE AVOIDANCE, FRIENDLY CONTACT, OR UNFRIENDLY CONTACT REPORTED BY BLACK AND WHITE STUDENTS

	Avoidance		Friendly Contact		Unfriendly Contact	
Determinants	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
Perceptions of Effectiveness of Means Available for Solving Student Problems						
Black-white difference			+.93	-.30		
School average	-.71	-.01				
Perceptions of Administration Responsiveness to Student Problems						
Black students			-.39	+.72		
Participation in Inter-racial Groups Fostering Change in the School						
Black students			+.08	+.72		
White students			-.45	+.94		
School average			+.53	+.89		
Peer Attitudes about Other Race						
Black students	-.76	-.04			-.75	-.11
White students			+.22	+.92		
Black-white difference			+.30	+.84		
Perceptions of the Other Race						
Perceptions of Relative Toughness						
Black students			-.71	+.08		
School average	-.74	+.05				
Perceptions of Relative Goodness						
School average			+.52	+.80		

TABLE 5-31. SUMMARY OF THE SPECIFIC VARIABLES WHICH ARE MOST STRONGLY ASSOCIATED (CORRELATES OVER .70)
(cont.) WITH THE AVOIDANCE, FRIENDLY CONTACT, OR UNFRIENDLY CONTACT REPORTED BY BLACK AND WHITE STUDENTS

Determinants	Avoidance		Friendly Contact		Unfriendly Contact	
	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
Student Emotions						
Loyalty						
Black students					-.73	-.41
Relative Anger						
Black students			+.35	-.71		
White students	-.01	+.89	-.77	-.23		
Black-white difference			+.87	-.12		
School average	+.25	+.80	-.81	-.52		

The school situation also had some bearing on all three types of inter-racial behaviors. Greater racial integration of the student bodies and the faculties in the schools was associated with greater white students' friendliness with Blacks. More frequent negative behavior by Whites (i.e., avoidance of, and/or unfriendliness with, black students) was associated with: less concentration of intra-racial fights among black students; a larger proportion of all fights being inter-racial; and a smaller proportion of white students in particular and students generally who preferred their present schools before enrolling in them. Black friendliness with white students was more common in schools where there was a larger incident-student ratio (i.e., fewer disciplinary incidents) and a larger proportion of reported incidents involved property damage rather than other offenses.

In terms of opportunities for inter-racial contact, the data supported two conclusions. Black avoidance increased as black students' opportunities for in-class contacts with Whites diminished. Also, black unfriendliness with Whites was most common at schools where black students had the fewest opportunities to interact with Whites around school generally.

The next cell in our model concerned the conditions surrounding inter-racial contact in the schools. First, the relative status and power of black and white students--and the students' perceptions of their status and power--had important bearings on their behaviors. In general, these factors affected white students' behaviors more than they affected the behavior of black students. White avoidance increased as white students' power (real and perceived) decreased. White friendliness with Blacks increased as the actual office-holding power of Whites increased, and as there were increases in the relative status of Whites relative to Blacks in the school, as perceived by both Whites and the student body as a whole. However, white friendliness with Blacks also increased as the percentage of Blacks who were in the Academic program increased.

Black avoidance was most common in schools where white students were least likely to see black students' status and power as lower than white students'. None of these status and power factors had a strong bearing on black friendliness with Whites.

Another set of important conditions of contact concerned the racial attitudes of the students' peers. The data indicated that the more negative their peers' attitudes, the more likely black students were to avoid and be unfriendly with white students. Also, the more favorable the attitudes of white students' peers, the more likely white students were to be friendly with black students.

Finally, with respect to conditions of contact, black avoidance was associated with black students' tendencies not to adhere (verbally at least) to conventional norms of school conduct and the tendency for students generally not to perceive the means available for solving student problems as effective. Also, white friendliness was associated with students' involvement in interracial groups fostering change in the schools and with black students' perceptions of the school administration as responsive to students' problems.

Students' perceptions of one another also were strongly related to their inter-racial behavior. Black students' avoidance of Whites was associated with the tendency among all students to perceive other-race students as less tough relative to students of their own race. Black friendliness with Whites was associated with black students' tendency to view white students as less tough, relative to black students. The amount of friendly interaction reported by white students was higher in schools where students generally perceived other-race schoolmates as having more positive personal traits.

Finally, we turn to student emotions. Feelings of anger were the most important factors in this cell. The more that feelings of anger toward other-race students exceeded feelings of anger toward one's own race (both among Whites and among students generally), the more white students' avoidance of Blacks increased. Also, the more often Blacks felt angry toward Whites, the less friendly inter-racial contact was reported by Whites.

Black students' friendliness with Whites diminished when white students in particular and students generally felt more inter-racial anger than intra-racial anger. Black friendliness with Whites increased when the gap between black and white students in regard to feelings of anger was the largest.

School loyalty was lowest among students in those schools where unfriendly behavior by Blacks was most frequent. School loyalty was not strongly related to other dependent variables. Feelings of fear had relatively little association with students' patterns of inter-racial interaction.

In terms of the sheer number of significant variables that the various cells of the model yielded, the most important cell appears to be conditions of contact. The next most important cell appears to be neighborhood and grade school. However, as we indicated earlier, the prominence of these cells is no doubt related, at least partly, to the fact that these cells included more variables from the outset. To summarize which cells yielded more or less than the number of significant variables one might expect based on their frequency in the original list, we have developed Tables 5-32 and 5-33. These tables indicate whether cells of the model were over-, under-, or proportionately ("equally") represented in the six lists of factors which were correlated at least .50 with black and white students' avoidance, friendliness, or unfriendliness.

Two cells in the model were somewhat over-represented on the three final lists of significant predictors of black students' behavior. These cells were conditions of contact and home situation. Four cells were proportionately represented: student characteristics, opportunities for contact, perceptions of the other race, and student emotions. And, two sets of factors were under-represented. These were neighborhood and grade school and school situation.

In terms of white students' behavior, two cells were over-represented: conditions of contact and student characteristics. All other cells in the model were about proportionately represented.

These data indicate that one cell of the model--conditions of contact--was over-represented for both black and white students. Two other factors exhibit a somewhat more mixed pattern. The home situation cell was over-represented for black students, but proportionately-represented for white students. Student characteristics, on the other hand, were proportionately-represented for black students but over-represented for white students. Two cells were under-represented for black students but proportionately-represented for white students. These cells concerned the neighborhood and grade school and the school situation parts of our model. Finally, three cells of the model were equally-represented for both racial groups. These cells concerned opportunities for inter-racial contact, student perceptions of the other race, and student emotions.

TABLE 5-32. SUMMARY OF THE CONTRIBUTIONS MADE BY EACH CELL IN THE MODEL TO THE COMPLETE LIST OF VARIABLES THAT WERE AT LEAST MODERATELY RELATED TO BLACK AND WHITE STUDENTS' INTER-RACIAL INTERACTION[*]

	Black Students			
	Avoidance	Friendly Contact	Unfriendly Contact	(Mean)[**]
Conditions of Contact	Over	Under	Over	(Over)
Home Situation	Equal	Equal	Over	(Over)
Student Characteristics	Equal	Equal	Equal	(Equal)
Opportunities for Contact	Equal	Equal	Equal	(Equal)
Perceptions of Other Race	Equal	Equal	Equal	(Equal)
Student Emotions	Equal	Equal	Equal	(Equal)
School Situation	Equal	Equal	Under	(Under)
Neighborhood and Grade School	Under	Over	Under	(Under)

[*] This summary table is based on Tables 5-10, 5-20, and 5-30.
Over = over-represented among significant variables;
Equal = proportionately-represented;
Under = under-represented.

[**] The "mean" description for each cell of the model was derived in the following way. Whenever a cell was under-represented, it was given a score of 1. Whenever it was proportionately-represented, it was given a score of 2. Whenever it was over-represented, it was given a score of 3. These scores for each cell were summed and divided by 3 (signifying the three types of inter-racial interaction). A mean score of 2.0 meant the cell was proportionately-represented. A mean score exceeding 2.0 meant the cell was over-represented. And a mean score less than 2.0 meant the cell was under-represented. For example, the conditions of contact cell received scores of 3 (avoidance) + 1 (friendly contact) + 3 (unfriendly contact) = 7 ÷ 3 = mean score of 2.3 ("over").

TABLE 5-33. SUMMARY OF THE CONTRIBUTIONS MADE BY EACH CELL IN THE MODEL TO THE COMPLETE LIST OF VARIABLES THAT WERE AT LEAST MODERATELY RELATED TO BLACK AND WHITE STUDENTS' INTER-RACIAL INTERACTION*

	White Students			
	Avoidance	Friendly Contact	Unfriendly Contact	(Mean)**
Conditions of Contact	Equal	Over	Equal	(Over)
Student Characteristics	Over	Equal	Equal	(Over)
Home Situation	Equal	Equal	Equal	(Equal)
Neighborhood and Grade School	Equal	Equal	Equal	(Equal)
School Situation	Equal	Equal	Equal	(Equal)
Opportunities for Contact	Equal	Equal	Equal	(Equal)
Perceptions of Other Race	Equal	Equal	Equal	(Equal)
Student Emotions	Equal	Equal	Equal	(Equal)

*This summary table is based on Tables 5-10, 5-20, and 5-30.
Over = over-represented among significant variables;
Equal = proportionately-represented;
Under = under-represented.

**The "mean" description for each cell of the model was derived in the following way. Whenever a cell was under-represented, it was given a score of 1. Whenever it was proportionately-represented, it was given a score of 2. Whenever it was over-represented, it was given a score of 3. These scores for each cell were summed and divided by 3 (signifying the three types of inter-racial interaction). A mean score of 2.0 meant the cell was proportionately-represented. A mean score exceeding 2.0 meant the cell was over-represented. And a mean score less than 2.0 meant the cell was under-represented. For example, the conditions of contact cell received scores of 2(avoidance) + 3 (friendly contact) + 2 (unfriendly contact) = 7 ÷ 3 = mean score of 2.3 ("over").

Chapter 6. Factors Related to the Inter-racial Behavior of Individual Students

In the previous chapter, we considered the school as a total unit and examined some of the differences among schools which were related to differences in the average character of race relations found in each school. As Chapter 4 has clearly shown, however, there is much variation within schools as well as between schools. The purpose of this chapter is to present our results concerning the factors which affect the behavior of individual students toward schoolmates of another race. In examining this issue, we will consider separately three types of behavior by students: avoidance, friendly interaction, and unfriendly actions. We will seek to learn what factors are most associated with--i.e., are the best predictors of--each of these aspects of inter-racial interaction. After considering each of the three types of behavior separately, we will summarize the major factors which affect inter-racial behavior.

Methods Used

Students from all schools are included together in these analyses, with the exception of black students from all-black School 12, white students from the almost all-white School 1, and white students from the almost all-white sophomore, junior, and senior classes of School 2.[1]

In examining the relationship between each possible predictor and a given type of inter-racial behavior (such as avoidance or friendly interaction), we will show first (in the tables) the correlation between the predictor and the inter-racial behavior. The correlation coefficient indicates the extent to which the predictor and the inter-racial behavior (the "dependent variable") are, in fact, associated.[2] However, the correlation between any two variables may be increased or decreased spuriously if they are both associated with a third variable. For example, the correlation between friendly inter-racial interaction and the perception of peers' racial attitudes may be spuriously high if those students who perceive more favorable peer attitudes also have more opportunity for inter-racial contact in the classroom.

In order to overcome the problem of spurious correlations, as well as to provide other information beyond that provided by a simple set of correlations, we have relied primarily on the statistical technique of multiple regression analysis. This method could not be used in the analysis of inter-school variation because of the small number of schools. Used with the much larger number of individual students, this technique permits us to see how well each one of a number of possible variables ("predictors") can predict the amount of a given type of behavior, such as avoidance or friendly contact (the "dependent variable"). The size of the relationship between the behavior to be explained and each specific predictor is assessed independently of the effect of all other predictors. In other words, the effects of all other variables which may affect the type of behavior being examined are held constant (removed) statistically while we look at the relation between this type of behavior and the single predictor being studied at the moment.

Variables which were thought to be possible predictors of inter-racial interaction are divided into three sets: (1) personal characteristics of the students, aspects of students' backgrounds, and students' position in school (i.e., school attended, year in school, and program); (2) opportunities for, and conditions of, contact in the school situation; and (3) perceptions of the other race and emotions toward the other race and toward the school. (See Chapter 2 for a discussion of the variables chosen for study.) We believe that variables in the first set tend to be, in general, causally prior to variables in the second set, which in turn tend to be causally prior to variables in the third set. For example, the academic program in which the student is enrolled may affect his opportunity for inter-racial contact in the classroom, which may in turn affect his perceptions of other-race students.[3] Since it is not appropriate to control the effects of a given predictor by a second predictor which is either a determinant of the first predictor or its consequence, it is desirable to treat the three sets of predictors separately.[4]

Within each set of predictors, the size of the relationship between each predictor variable and the behavior to be explained is indicated by a number called the partial Beta coefficient (partial Beta, for short). The partial Beta indicates the amount of change in the behavior which we are trying to explain which is associated with each unit of change on the particular predictor. The most important thing to keep in mind in interpreting the partial Betas shown in the tables is that the rank order of the partial Betas reflects their relative importance as predictors of the behavior in which we are interested. Thus, if two predictors are related to avoidance behavior in a regression analysis and predictor 1 has a larger partial Beta than predictor 2 (regardless of whether the Beta's sign is plus or minus), then predictor 1 is a better predictor of avoidance than is predictor 2.

For assessing the relative importance of the predictors, the reader should, therefore, focus on the partial Betas rather than on the correlations. Our own discussion of the results will, likewise, be based primarily on the partial Betas. However, the simple correlations also are of some interest in indicating the amount of association which actually exists between two variables, before statistical adjustments for the effects of other variables are made.

In addition to indicating the relative importance of each possible predictor (by the rank order of their partial Betas), the regression analysis also gives us the multiple correlation coefficient (R). This figure when squared (i.e., R^2) tells us the amount of variation in the dependent variable (such as avoidance or friendly behavior toward the other race) which is accounted for or "explained" by a set of predictors together.

Finally, in outlining the methods of analysis used, a note about the direction of causation is in order. The statistical analyses performed tell us how well a given variable predicts the behavior in which we are interested. They do not tell us anything about the direction of causation. The predictor may be one of the causes of the dependent variable; the dependent variable may be one of the causes of the predictor; or they may have reciprocal effects. In many instances, one direction of causation is much more plausible--e.g., it is more plausible that the educational level of a student's parents affects his avoidance of other-race students, than vice versa. In our discussion, we sometimes will tend to assume a given direction of causation, either on such obvious grounds or because there is theoretical reason or other evidence which points to such a causal direction. The reader should remember, however, that causal relations other than those going from predictor to dependent variable are possible.

Avoidance

Avoidance of contact with students of the other race was assessed by seven questions which asked each student how often (if ever) during the current semester he had avoided contact with students of the other race in a variety of ways. (See Appendix B for questions included in each of the indices referred to in this chapter.)

Student Characteristics, Home Background, School Position

The first set of possible predictors of avoidance includes variables bearing on the student's own characteristics, his home background and his basic position in school (school attended, program and year). How are each of the variables in this set related to avoidance of other-race students? Table 6-1 shows data relevant to this question.

For black students, the best predictor (in this set) of avoidance of other-race students is a measure of the type of interpersonal relations each student had with students of his own race--specifically, the amount of unfriendly interaction (e.g., arguments, fights) with same-race students. The more often black students had unfriendly relationships with students of their own race, the more likely they were to avoid white students. It may be that unfriendly relationships with students of one's own race reflect, at least in part, personal and/or social characteristics which also lead to an avoidance of contact with white students.

The second best predictor of avoidance of Whites by black students is the extent to which their families have positive attitudes toward Whites. The more positive the reported attitudes of a black student's family, the less likely he was to avoid white students.

Another student characteristic which has a significant relationship with avoidance for black students is the student's opinion of white people prior to coming to high school. The better the stu- reported his pre-high school opinion of Whites to have been, the less he reported avoiding white students.

Avoidance by black students was also related to students' scores on a measure of ethnocentrism. This measure (see Appendix B) assesses beliefs concerning the relationships between black and white people in general (not specifically in school). High scores indicate belief in the desirability of maintaining social distance from the other race, in the moral superiority of one's own race, and in a militant stance with respect to relationships with the other race (e.g., the belief that one's own race has given in too much to the other race). The higher the black student's ethnocentrism score, the more likely he was to avoid white students. However, the association between racial ethnocentrism and avoidance for black students is not as strong as the association between these factors among white students.

For black students, the level of avoidance of white students also was significantly higher at School 4 than it was at the average

TABLE 6-1. AVOIDANCE OF OTHER-RACE STUDENTS, AS RELATED TO STUDENT CHARACTERISTICS, HOME BACKGROUND, AND SCHOOL POSITION[a]

Predictors	Black Students		White Students	
	Simple Correlation	Partial Beta	Simple Correlation	Partial Beta
1. Opinion of other race prior to high school	-.24***	-.10*	-.30***	-.08
2. Satisfaction with life circumstances	-.07*	-.01	-.08**	-.03
3. Education of parents	-.02	.03	-.04	.08*
4. Unfriendly contacts with students of own race	.29***	.23***	.21***	.16***
5. Sex (high score is female)	-.11***	-.04	-.20***	-.09**
6. Year in school	.00	.01	-.04	-.00
7. Being in Vocational program	.06*	.03	.02	.01
8. Being in Fine and Practical Arts program	.02	.04	.02	.03
9. Being in Academic program	-.06*	.03	-.05	.02
10. Being at School 1	-.01	.02	--	--
11. Being at School 2	.04	.01	-.04	-.01

(continued)

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[a] The number of students with valid scores varies somewhat for each pair of variables; median N is about 1,790 for Blacks and about 1,900 for Whites.

*Indicates relationship is significant at .05 level.

**Indicates relationship is significant at .01 level.

***Indicates relationship is significant at .001 level for partial Betas, .005 level for correlations.

TABLE 6-1. (cont.) AVOIDANCE OF OTHER-RACE STUDENTS, AS RELATED TO STUDENT CHARACTERISTICS, HOME BACKGROUND, AND SCHOOL POSITION[a]

	Predictors	Black Students		White Students	
		Simple Correlation	Partial Beta	Simple Correlation	Partial Beta
12.	Being at School 3	-.03	-.01	-.05	-.02
13.	Being at School 4	.14***	.10*	-.03	-.01
14.	Being at School 5	.03	.04	.06*	.02
15.	Being at School 6	b	b	b	b
16.	Being at School 7	.01	.00	.04	.04
17.	Being at School 8	.11***	.07	.02	.04
18.	Being at School 9	-.07*	-.03	-.01	.05
19.	Being at School 10	-.07*	-.05	.14***	.11**
20.	Being at School 11	-.12***	-.08	-.11***	.04
21.	Acceptance of conventional school norms	-.23***	-.07	-.12***	-.02
22.	Educational aspirations	-.07*	-.03	-.06*	-.02
23.	Church activity	-.02	.04	-.04	.03
24.	Amount of friendly contact with other race, outside of school	-.17***	-.05	-.23***	-.09*
25.	Positive family attitudes toward other race	-.34***	-.19***	-.29***	-.12***
26.	Amount of time to reach school	.06*	.02	.05	.01

(continued)

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[b] No data are shown here because School 6 was average in avoidance and was used as a standard against which other schools' scores were compared.

TABLE 6-1. AVOIDANCE OF OTHER-RACE STUDENTS, AS RELATED TO STUDENT
(cont.) CHARACTERISTICS, HOME BACKGROUND, AND SCHOOL POSITION[a]

	Black Students		White Students	
Predictors	Simple Correlation	Partial Beta	Simple Correlation	Partial Beta
27. Segregation of neighborhood	.01	-.01	.04	-.01
28. Age at which got to know any other-race people	.08**	.00	.09***	-.02
29. Initial preference for going to another school	.11***	.02	.12***	.02
30. Racial ethnocentrism (Blacks)	.20***	.09*	--	--
31. Racial ethnocentrism (Whites)	--	--	.41***	.27***
32. Reluctance to endorse power tactics by Blacks in society (Blacks)	-.10***	-.02	--	--
33. Sympathy with black demands in society (Whites)	--	--	-.20***	-.10**
Multiple correlation (R), using all predictors	R=.50***	(R^2=.25)	R=.53***	(R^2=.28)

school, after other factors in this set are controlled.

For white students, the best predictor of their avoidance of Blacks is the measure of racial ethnocentrism. The higher the ethnocentrism scores for Whites, the more likely they were to avoid black students. Another measure of white students' racial beliefs or ideology, related to but largely independent of the ethnocentrism measure, is that of sympathy with black demands. High scores on this measure reflect mainly a belief that black people have fared poorly in our society and have a right to make demands now. The more highly white students scored on the measure of sympathy with black demands, the less likely they were to avoid contact with black students.

Several personal and background characteristics which, we noted, help to predict avoidance of Whites by black students also help to predict avoidance of Blacks by white students. For white students, as for black students, those students who had more unfriendly interactions with students of their own race also were more likely to try to avoid students of the other race. Like black students, too, the more white students reported that their families have positive attitudes toward other-race people, the less likely the white students were to avoid other-race students.

In addition, for white students, several other personal and background characteristics help to predict the extent to which a student tried to avoid Blacks. Having better educated parents and attending School 10 each made a separate and significant contribution to increasing the white student's avoidance of Blacks. Being female and having had friendly contact with black students outside one's present school (in grade school, neighborhood, etc.) had a signficant effect in the opposite direction--i.e., to reducing avoidance of black students.

There are a number of characteristics of the student and his background which, with other factors in this set controlled, were found to make no significant contribution to predicting avoidance, either for black students or for white students. Those factors not related to avoidance include: 1) the student's satisfaction with his life circumstances; 2) year in school; 3) school program--i.e., Academic, Vocational, etc.: 4) educational aspirations; 5) amount of church activity; 6) agreement with conventional school norms; 7) amount of time needed to reach school; 8) degree of racial segregation in the student's neighborhood; 9) age at which the student first got to know other-race children; and 10) initial preference for going to another high school.

Opportunities for, and Conditions of, Contact

How is avoidance of other-race students related to the opportunities for, and conditions of, contact in the school situation, as reported and perceived by students? Table 6-2 shows these relationships.

The best predictors of avoidance are generally similar for both black and white students. First, students of both races appear to be influenced by their perceptions of the racial attitudes of other people of their race in school. The more that black students perceived their black schoolmates to have favorable attitudes toward Whites and the more they perceived black teachers to favor friendly inter-racial contact, the less likely they were to avoid white students. Similarly, the more white students perceived their white classmates and their white teachers to have positive inter-racial attitudes, the less likely they were to avoid black students.

Another significant predictor of avoidance by both races, especially by Whites, is the extent to which students see schoolmates of the other race as either facilitating or impeding achievement of their personal goals (e.g., getting good grades, having good school teams, getting a good education). The more students of either race saw those of the other race as facilitating their own goal achievement, the less likely they were to avoid the other-race students.

TABLE 6-2. AVOIDANCE OF OTHER-RACE STUDENTS, AS RELATED TO REPORTED OPPORTUNITIES AND PERCEIVED CIRCUMSTANCES OF SCHOOL CONTACT[a]

	Black Students		White Students	
Predictors	Simple Correlation	Partial Beta	Simple Correlation	Partial Beta
1. Positive peer attitudes toward other race	-.22***	-.12**	-.36***	-.20***
2. Opportunity for in-class contact	-.04	-.10*	-.09***	-.04
3. Opportunity for around-school contact	-.02	.02	-.02	.06
4. Opportunity for contact with black faculty	-.01	.03	-.02	.02
5. Total number of club memberships	-.04	-.01	-.04	-.08*
6. Strictness of school	.10***	.02	-.03	-.02
7. Amount of problem-solving activity	-.19***	-.11**	-.15***	-.03
8. Power of black students relative to white students	-.08**	.03	.11***	.03
9. Nonacademic status of white students, relative to black students	-.07*	.02	.00	-.08

(continued)

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[a] The number of students with valid scores varies somewhat for each pair of variables. Median N is about 1520 for Blacks and about 1720 for Whites.

*Indicates relationship is significant at .05 level.

**Indicates relationship is significant at .01 level

***Indicates relationship is significant at .001 level for partial Betas, .005 level for correlations

TABLE 6-2. AVOIDANCE OF OTHER-RACE STUDENTS, AS RELATED TO REPORTED
(cont.) OPPORTUNITIES AND PERCEIVED CIRCUMSTANCES OF SCHOOL CONTACT[a]

	Black Students		White Students	
Predictors	Simple Correlation	Partial Beta	Simple Correlation	Partial Beta
10. Proportion of own-race students from low-income families, relative to other race	$-.06^{*}$	$-.03$	$-.24^{***}$	$-.14^{***}$
11. Academic status of white students relative to black students	$-.13^{***}$	$-.11^{*}$	$.09^{***}$	$.12^{*}$
12. Facilitation by other-race students for reaching own goals	$-.16^{***}$	$-.11^{**}$	$-.34^{***}$	$-.22^{***}$
13. Favoritism of school personnel toward white students	$.12^{***}$	.09	$.06^{*}$	.00
14. Favoritism of school personnel toward black students	.05	$-.04$	$.07^{*}$	.04
15. Norms of white teachers unfavorable to inter-racial contacts	$.18^{***}$	.04	$.27^{***}$	$.18^{***}$
16. Norms of black teachers unfavorable to inter-racial contact	$.23^{***}$	$.18^{***}$	--	--
Multiple correlation (R), using all predictors together	$R=.38^{***}$	$(R^2=.14)$	$R=.51^{***}$	$(R^2=.26)$

Avoidance by black students is also related significantly to two other factors having to do with opportunities for, and conditions of, inter-racial contact. The more that black students saw efforts by the school administration and by the Student Council to solve problems in the school, and the more they reported opportunities for class contact with white students, the less often they reported trying to avoid white students.

For white students, in addition to those predictors of avoidance already mentioned, avoidance of Blacks is significantly related to perceptions of the relative status of the two races. First, the greater the proportion of the own-race schoolmates seen by Whites as coming from low-income families, relative to the proportion of low-income Blacks, the less the avoidance of Blacks. (Conversely, the lower the relative proportion of their own race seen by white students as low-income, the more they avoided the Blacks.) Secondly, the higher the perceived academic status of Whites, as compared to Blacks (with respect to grades and ability groupings), the more often white students avoided Blacks. Both with respect to the relative income of the two racial groups and with respect to their relative academic status within the school, then, the larger the status gap which white students saw between themselves and black students, the more they avoided the Blacks.

One additional factor also helps significantly to predict avoidance by Whites. This factor is the number of school activities (clubs, teams, etc.) in which the students participated. White students who participated more in school activities were somewhat less likely than were others to avoid black students.

There are a number of variables bearing on opportunities for, and conditions of, inter-racial contact which, when other variables in the set are controlled, have no significant relationship to avoidance of other-race students. The factors (as reported or perceived by students) which have little relationship to avoidance by either race include: 1) opportunity for contact with black faculty;

2) strictness of the school administration; 3) the relative power of black and of white students to affect what goes on at the school; 4) opportunity for inter-racial contact around school (in the cafeteria and around lockers); 5) favoritism of school personnel toward students of the other race; and 6) the relative nonacademic status of the races in school (i.e., in holding prestigeful positions in school).

Perceptions of Other Race and Emotions

The third set of variables which we related to inter-racial avoidance concerns students' perceptions of, and emotions toward, the other race. This set of predictors also includes a measure of loyalty toward the school. How well do these measures of perceptions and emotions concerning the other race predict avoidance of other-race students?

The data (Table 6-3) show that, among the possible predictors in this set, the best predictor of avoidance, for both black and white students, is students' perceptions of the personal qualities of other-race students. This measure, detailed in Appendix B, is based on the proportion of students of the other race who are perceived to have various positive and negative characteristics (e.g., are fun to be with, act stuck up, act bossy). For each race, the greater the proportion of other-race students who were seen as having good qualities, the less often other-race students were avoided. This relationship is particularly strong for Whites.

Anger at students of the other race, compared to anger at same-race students, is the second best predictor (in this set) of avoidance. For both races, the more frequent the anger, the more the avoidance.

For both races, too, greater fear of students of the other race (i.e., concern about being hit by members of that group) also contributed to more avoidance. In addition, the more black students were seen as physically tough by Whites, the less frequent was the avoidance of Blacks by Whites. (In this case, it may be that less avoidance of--

TABLE 6-3. AVOIDANCE OF OTHER-RACE STUDENTS, AS RELATED TO PERCEPTIONS OF, AND EMOTIONS TOWARD, OTHER-RACE STUDENTS[a]

	Black Students		White Students	
Predictors	Simple Correlation	Partial Beta	Simple Correlation	Partial Beta
1. Perceived good qualities of other-race students	-.34***	-.23***	-.46***	-.30***
2. Perceived physical toughness of other-race students	-.13***	-.05	-.14***	-.09**
3. Fear of other-race students	.20***	.17***	.28***	.13***
4. Anger at other-race students	.29***	.18***	.40***	.20***
5. Actions reflecting loyalty to school	-.10***	-.05	-.03	-.02
6. Perceived extent other-race students try hard in school	-.12***	-.03	-.24***	.02
7. Perceived smartness of other-race students	-.12***	-.06	-.28***	-.06
Multiple correlation (R), using all predictors above	R=.43***	(R^2=.19)	R=.53***	(R^2=.28)

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[a] The number of students with valid scores varies somewhat for each pair of variables. Median N is 1584 for Blacks and 1770 for Whites.

*Indicates relationship is significant at .05 level.

**Indicates relationship is significant at .01 level.

***Indicates relationship is significant at .001 level for partial Betas and .005 level for correlations.

i.e., more contact with--black students led Whites to see them as physically tough, rather than vice versa.)

Perceptions bearing on the school performance of other-race students do not have a significant association with inter-racial avoidance by students of either race. Neither perception of the proportion of other-race students who try to do well in school, nor perception of the proportion of other-race students who are smart in school (as compared to the proportions of own-race students in these categories) are related significantly to avoidance. Nor are actions reflecting loyalty to the school.

Overall Explanation of Variance in Avoidance.

So far in this section, we have been trying to answer the question: What variables are the best predictors of the extent to which black and white students try to avoid those of the other race? Now we present data bearing on the question: How much of the variance in avoidance (i.e., the scatter of individuals' scores around the mean) is accounted for, or "explained" statistically by the variables used as predictors? The answers, which are obtained by taking the squares of the multiple correlation coefficients (R^2), are as follows:

1. The set of predictors having to do with student characteristics, home background, and school position accounts for 25 percent of the variance in avoidance among black students and 28 percent of the variance in avoidance among white students.
2. The set of predictors having to do with opportunities for, and conditions of, inter-racial contact in the school account for 14 percent of the variance in avoidance among black students and 26 percent of the variance among white students.
3. The set of predictors dealing with perceptions of, and emotions toward, other-race students, along with school loyalty, account for 19 percent of the variance in avoidance among black students and 28 percent of the variance in avoidance among Whites.

4. Using all three sets of predictors together, we can account for 31 percent of the variance in avoidance scores among black students and 39 percent of the variance in avoidance among white students.[5]

Friendly Behavior

Next we turn to a consideration of friendly interaction between white students and black students in the school. When is there much friendly interaction between black and white students and when is there little friendly interaction?

We asked each student a series of questions about how often during the then-current semester he had each of a variety of friendly contacts with other-race students of his (her) own sex. The interactions ranged from fairly casual contacts such as friendly conversations to more intimate contacts such as visiting one another's homes or dating. For each student, an index of friendly interaction with other-race students was computed, based on the reported frequency of ten types of interaction. Items which concern longer and/or more intimate interactions have greater weights in the index than those which reflect more fleeting and casual contacts. (See Appendix B for the composition of this index and others mentioned in this chapter.)

Student Characteristics, Home Background, and School Attended

We look first at the relationship of friendly inter-racial contact to the set of variables which includes student characteristics, home background, and school position (see Table 6-4).

For students of both races, by far the best predictor of having friendly inter-racial contacts in high school is the amount of friendly inter-racial contacts the student has had outside of his present high school. Our measure of outside inter-racial contacts is based on the student's report concerning how many other-race people he had "gotten to know" a) at grade school; b) in his neighborhood (separately for before and during high school); c) at some other high school (if any); and in a variety of other settings (job, youth group, summer camp, etc.). The amount of contact in each setting was weighted by the reported friendliness of the contact in each setting.

Clearly, some of the "outside" inter-racial contacts included in this measure occurred before the student entered his present high school and some occurred while he attended his present school. Therefore, we cannot be sure of the extent to which the total amount of outside inter-racial contact affects in-school contact and the extent to which the relationship goes the other way. More detailed data do show, however, that the more friendly inter-racial contact the student experienced in grade school, or in a previous high school, the less his avoidance of, and the greater his friendly interaction with, other-race students in his present school.[6] Moreover, some of the other items included in the overall measure of outside inter-racial contacts (e.g., "in my neighborhood before I came to high school") either wholly or partially include experiences prior to present high school. Thus, we know that a substantial part of the overall relationship is due to the effect which inter-racial contacts prior to present high school have on inter-racial contacts in this high school. However, some reciprocal effects--i.e., more friendly inter-racial contacts in high school leading to more friendly contacts elsewhere--undoubtedly occur also. The major point to be made is that the kinds of inter-racial interaction which occur in the high school apparently are not insulated from the interaction which occurs outside it. Race relations in the high school must be seen as related to race relations in other community settings.

Two other factors in this set also make a significant, though smaller, contribution to predicting friendly inter-racial contacts for both black and white students. Students of either race who report a high level of unfriendly interactions (fights, arguments) with students of their own race report somewhat more friendly

TABLE 6-4. FRIENDLY INTERACTION WITH OTHER-RACE STUDENTS AS RELATED TO STUDENT CHARACTERISTICS, HOME BACKGROUND, AND SCHOOL POSITION[a]

	Black Students		White Students	
Predictors	Simple Correlation	Partial Beta	Simple Correlation	Partial Beta
1. Favorable opinion of other race prior to high school	.23***	.03	.22***	-.06
2. Satisfaction with life circumstances	.12***	.05	.03	.03
3. Education of parents	.11***	.05	.17***	.02
4. Unfriendly contacts with students of own race	.08**	.09*	.14***	.12***
5. Sex (high score is female)	-.11***	-.08*	-.03	-.02
6. Year in school	.10***	.10*	.09***	.07*
7. Being in Vocational program	-.04	.00	-.02	.00
8. Being in Fine and Practical Arts program	.01	.04	-.03	.03
9. Being in Academic program	.11***	.09*	.15***	.07

(continued)

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[a] The number of students with valid scores varies somewhat for each pair of variables; median N is about 1,790 for Blacks and about 1,900 for Whites.

*Indicates relationship is significant at .05 level.

**Indicates relationship is significant at .01 level.

***Indicates relationship is significant at .001 level for partial Betas, .005 level for correlations.

TABLE 6-4. FRIENDLY INTERACTION WITH OTHER-RACE STUDENTS AS RELATED TO
(cont.) STUDENT CHARACTERISTICS, HOME BACKGROUND, AND SCHOOL POSITION[a]

Predictors	Black Students Simple Correlation	Black Students Partial Beta	White Students Simple Correlation	White Students Partial Beta
10. Being at School 1	.13***	.10**	--	--
11. Being at School 2	-.03	.05	-.06*	-.03
12. Being at School 3	.02	.10*	-.09***	-.06
13. Being at School 4	.01	.06	-.07*	-.03
14. Being at School 5	-.04	.03	-.11***	-.04
15. Being at School 6	.08**	.09	-.01	.00
16. Being at School 7	-.03	.06	-.01	.04
17. Being at School 8	-.05	.03	b	b
18. Being at School 9	.03	.10	.01	.01
19. Being at School 10	-.05	.07	-.03	.00
20. Being at School 11	b	b	.35***	.14**
21. Acceptance of conventional school norms	.08**	-.02	-.03	-.04
22. Educational aspirations	.15***	.06	.14***	.02
23. Church activity	.00	-.04	.04	.00
24. Amount of friendly contact with other race, outside of school	.45***	.35***	.53***	.44***

(continued)

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[b] No data are shown here because School 11 was average in friendly contacts for Blacks and School 8 was average in friendly contacts for Whites. These schools were used as standards against which other schools were compared.

TABLE 6-4. (cont.) FRIENDLY INTERACTION WITH OTHER-RACE STUDENTS AS RELATED TO STUDENT CHARACTERISTICS, HOME BACKGROUND, AND SCHOOL POSITION[a]

Predictors	Black Students		White Students	
	Simple Correlation	Partial Beta	Simple Correlation	Partial Beta
25. Positive family attitudes toward other race	.20***	.06	.21***	-.01
26. Amount of time to reach school	-.01	.00	.04	.03
27. Segregation of neighborhood	-.12***	-.01	-.22***	-.02
28. Age at which got to know other-race people	-.20***	-.08*	-.20***	.02
29. Initial preference for going to another school	-.11***	-.01	-.02	.00
30. Racial ethnocentrism	-.13***	-.04	--	--
31. Racial ethnocentrism	--	--	-.36***	-.21***
32. Reluctance to endorse power tactics by Blacks in society (Blacks)	.07*	.04	--	--
33. Sympathy with black demands in society (Whites)	--	--	.18***	.01
Multiple correlation (R), using all predictors	R=.53***	(R^2=.28)	R=.63***	(R^2=.40)

interactions with students of the other race than do their peers. However, unfriendly interaction with one's own race is also associated (more strongly) with unfriendly cross-racial contacts, as we shall see in the next section. Thus, the relationship with friendly behavior found here seems to indicate that those who report a good deal of unfriendly interaction with their own race have a high level of interaction of all types with students of the other race (and perhaps with students of both races).

Year in school also makes a significant contribution to predicting friendly inter-racial contacts for students of both races. The further along the student is in school, along the path from freshman to senior, the more friendly interactions he has with other-race students. We cannot be sure to what extent this pattern reflects an increase in such interactions for students as they progress in school, versus the extent to which it reflects a higher drop-out rate among those who have fewer friendly interactions. However, the relationship of year in school to friendly interaction is independent of certain student characteristics (e.g., educational aspirations, parents' education) which are undoubtedly related to dropping out. Therefore, we think it likely that the increase in friendly contacts which occurs in higher years is not due to the effect of drop-outs mainly but, rather, is due primarily to changes in inter-racial contacts over time.[7]

A number of factors in this set help significantly in predicting the level of friendly cross-racial contacts experienced by one race, but not by the other race. For white students, racial ethnocentrism is one of the strongest predictors of friendly inter-racial contact. The more white students subscribed to the set of beliefs we have called racial ethnocentrism, the less likely they were to have friendly contacts with black students in high school. Racial ethnocentrism is, for white students, the second best predictor of friendly inter-racial contacts (after the amount of friendly inter-racial contact outside their present school).

Among black students, girls were somewhat less likely than boys to have had friendly contacts with white students. Also, black students in the Academic program were more likely than black students in other programs to have had friendly relationships with white students.

Attendance at certain schools also had a significant association with the amount of friendly inter-racial contact experienced by students of one race or the other. For black students, attendance at School 1 and at School 3 was associated with much friendly inter-racial contact. For white students, attendance at School 11 was linked to a high level of friendly inter-racial contacts.

There are a number of other variables in this set of possible predictors which turn out, when other factors are controlled, to have no significant relationship to friendly inter-racial interaction, either for Blacks or for Whites. These nonrelated variables include: 1) education of parents; 2) family attitudes toward the other race; 3) opinion of the other race prior to high school; 4) racial composition of student's neighborhood; 5) educational aspirations; 6) satisfaction with life conditions; 7) agreement with conventional school norms; 8) amount of church activity; 9) amount of time to reach school; and 10) initial preference for going to another school.

Opportunity for, and Conditions of Contact

We look now in more detail at factors within the school situation which may affect the amount of friendly interaction which occurs. The data showing these relationships are shown in Table 6-5.

The predictors (within this set) of friendly interaction, both for black students and for white students, are very similar. For students of both races, the best predictor is the total number of clubs, teams, and other extra-curricular activities in which the student had participated in his present school. The more clubs and activities, the more friendly interactions with other-race students which were reported.

TABLE 6-5. FRIENDLY INTERACTION WITH OTHER-RACE STUDENTS, AS RELATED TO REPORTED OPPORTUNITIES AND PERCEIVED CIRCUMSTANCES OF SCHOOL CONTACT[a]

Predictors	Black Students		White Students	
	Simple Correlation	Partial Beta	Simple Correlation	Partial Beta
1. Positive peer attitudes toward other race	.17***	.12**	.35***	.22***
2. Opportunity for in-class contact	.16***	.15***	.27***	.18***
3. Opportunity for around-school contact	.17***	.10**	.21***	.11***
4. Opportunity for contact with black faculty	.03	.04	.16***	.06
5. Total number of club memberships	.31***	.31***	.25***	.25***
6. Strictness of school	-.04	-.01	-.01	.05
7. Amount of problem-solving activity in school	.04	.01	.10***	.01
8. Power of black students relative to white students	.04	.04	-.01	-.02

(continued)

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[a] The number of students with valid scores varies somewhat for each pair of variables; median N is about 1,520 black students and about 1,720 white students.

*Indicates relationship is significant at .05 level.

**Indicates relationship is significant at .01 level.

***Indicates relationship is significant at .001 level for partial Betas and .005 level for correlations.

TABLE 6-5. (cont.) FRIENDLY INTERACTION WITH OTHER-RACE STUDENTS, AS RELATED TO REPORTED OPPORTUNITIES AND PERCEIVED CIRCUMSTANCES OF SCHOOL CONTACT[a]

	Black Students		White Students	
Predictors	Simple Correlation	Partial Beta	Simple Correlation	Partial Beta
9. Nonacademic status of white students, relative to black students	-.03	-.04	.08**	-.02
10. Proportion of own-race students from low-income families, relative to other race	.04	.01	.07*	.02
11. Academic status of white students, relative to black students	.01	.02	.12***	.08
12. Extent other-race students facilitate reaching own goals	.11***	.09*	.23***	.15***
13. Favoritism of school personnel toward white students	-.07*	-.05	-.10***	-.04
14. Favoritism of school personnal toward black students	-.02	.06	-.10***	.04
15. Norms of white teachers unfavorable to inter-racial contacts	-.03	.01	-.07	.02
16. Norms of black teachers unfavorable to inter-racial contact	-.03	.00	--	--
Multiple correlation (R), using all predictors together	R=.42***	(R^2=.17)	R=.51***	(R^2=.26)

Peer attitudes toward other-race students is another significant predictor of friendly interaction for both racial groups. The more students of either race saw their same-race schoolmates as having positive attitudes toward the other race, the more friendly inter-racial contacts they reported.

For both races, opportunities for inter-racial contact around school also are highly significant predictors. Greater opportunity for classroom contact (sitting or having a place near other-race students) and greater opportunity for contact outside of class (in the cafeteria, and at hall and gym lockers) are associated with more friendly interaction, although the relationship is stronger for in-class contact.

Finally, with respect to opportunities and conditions of contact, the more that students of either race saw schoolmates of the other race as facilitating achievement of their goals (good marks, good school teams, being able to go to college, etc.), the more friendly interaction with other-race students they reported.

A variety of school circumstances, as perceived by the student, turned out to have no statistically significant association with the amount of friendly inter-racial contact he reported--at least when other relevant variables are controlled. The variables having non-significant associations with friendly inter-racial interaction, both for black and for white students, include students' reports and perceptions concerning: 1) opportunity for contact with black faculty; 2) strictness of school officials; 3) amount of problem-solving activity in the school; 4) relative power of black and white students; 5) relative status of Blacks and Whites (income level, academic, and nonacademic); 6) favoritism of school personnel toward either race; and 7) norms of teachers (either black or white) concerning friendly inter-racial contact.

Perceptions and Emotions

The third set of possible predictors of friendly interaction includes perceptions of, and emotions toward, other-race students.

Table 6-6 shows the relationship of these variables to friendly inter-racial interaction.

For both black and white students, friendly interaction across racial lines increased as students' perceptions of the personal qualities of other-race students (the proportion who are friendly, fun to be with, act bossy, etc.) were more favorable. For students of both races also, but especially strongly for Blacks, friendly inter-racial contacts were most common among students whose actions (e.g., wearing a school button, displaying a school sticker) reflected the greatest feeling of loyalty to the school.

Among white students, the larger the proportion of his black schoolmates whom the student saw as smart in school, the more friendly contacts with black students he was likely to have.

Among black students, the more the student saw Whites as physically tough (i.e., good fighters, not afraid of Blacks), the more friendly interaction he had with white students. This finding does not mean, in general, that black students were likely to be friendly with white students whom they saw as more physically tough than themselves. Since black students, on the average, saw white students as less physically tough than themselves, the data appear to indicate that black students were more friendly with Whites whom they saw as closer to themselves in physical toughness.

Several other variables in this set show no significant relationship to friendly behavior, either for white or black students, when other variables in the set are controlled. While both fear of, and anger toward, other-race students are related to avoidance (and, as we shall see, to hostile behavior), the frequency of these emotions is not significantly related to the amount of friendly inter-racial contact. Also not significantly related to friendly contact is perception of the proportion of other-race students who try hard to do well in school.

Total Variance Accounted For

Having pinpointed those variables which are the best predictors of friendly inter-racial contacts, we now ask: How much of the

TABLE 6-6. FRIENDLY INTERACTION WITH OTHER-RACE STUDENTS, AS RELATED TO PERCEPTIONS OF, AND EMOTIONS TOWARD, OTHER-RACE STUDENTS[a]

	Black Students		White Students	
Predictors	Simple Correlation	Partial Beta	Simple Correlation	Partial Beta
1. Perceived good qualities of other-race students	.23***	.19***	.34***	.25***
2. Perceived physical toughness of other-race students	.15***	.11**	.06*	.01
3. Fear of other-race students	-.01	.00	-.14***	-.02
4. Anger at other-race students	-.03	.06	-.20***	-.01
5. Actions reflecting loyalty to school	.25***	.23***	.11***	.12***
6. Perceived extent other-race students try hard in school	.00	-.04	.24***	.03
7. Perceived smartness of other-race students	.02	.00	.29***	.15***
Multiple correlation (R), using all predictors above	R=.34***	(R^2=.12)	R=.39***	(R^2=.15)

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[a] The number of students with valid scores varies somewhat for each pair of variables; median N is about 1,580 black students and about 1,770 white students.

*Indicates relationship is significant at .05 level.

**Indicates relationship is significant at .01 level.

***Indicates relationship is significant at .001 level for partial Betas and .005 level for correlations.

variance in friendly interaction (i.e., how much of the scatter of individual scores around the mean) is accounted for by our predictors? The answers to this question, as indicated by the squares of the multiple correlation coefficients (R^2), are as follows:

1. The first set of predictor variables (student characteristics, home background, and student's school position) accounts for 28 percent of the total variance in friendly inter-racial contact among black students and 40 percent of the total variance among white students.
2. The second set of predictor variables (opportunity for, and conditions of, inter-racial contact in school) accounts for 17 percent of the variance in friendly inter-racial contact among black students and 26 percent of the variance among white students.
3. The third set of variables--primarily perceptions of, and emotions toward, other-race students--accounts for 12 percent of the variance in friendly inter-racial contacts among black students and 15 percent of the variance among white students.
4. All three sets of predictors together account for 34 percent of the variance in friendly inter-racial contacts among black students and 46 percent of the variance among white students.

Unfriendly Behavior Toward Other-Race Students

We turn next to a consideration of unfriendly behavior toward other-race students. What factors are associated with students acting in an unfriendly way toward students of another race?

We focus here not on all the unfriendly contacts in which a student is involved, but on the unfriendly interaction which he initiates or at least sustains himself. Our index of unfriendly behavior toward other-race students is based on each student's report concerning: 1) how often he "got into an argument with (other race) students, using only words"; 2) how often he was "pushed or hit by (other race) student(s) and pushed or hit back"; and 3) how often he "got so mad at (other race) student(s) that (he) hit or pushed that person first."

As with our analysis of avoidance and of friendly behavior, we will consider, in turn, the relationship of unfriendly behavior toward other-race students with a) student characteristics, home background, and school position; b) opportunities for, and conditions of, contact with other-race students in the school; and c) perception of, and emotions toward, other-race students.

Student Characteristics, Home Background, and School Position

To what extent is the amount of unfriendly behavior which students display toward fellow students of another race related to certain of their personal characteristics, to aspects of their home backgrounds, and to their basic position in school (i.e., school attended, year, and program). Table 6-7 shows data bearing on these questions.

For both black and white students, the best predictor (in this set) of unfriendly actions toward students of the other race is the frequency of unfriendly actions toward students of one's own race. The more a student acted in an unfriendly way toward his own-race peers, the more likely he was to act in unfriendly ways toward students of the other race. As noted above, it seems likely that such generally aggressive behavior is, at least in part, a reflection of the student's own personal (and perhaps social) characteristics. It is possible, too, that certain conditions in a school produce frustration and hostility which is directed at other students of both races.

Unfriendly actions to those of another race are not solely a reflection of the student's general level of hostility. For students of both races, unfriendly actions toward other-race students increased significantly as the student's racial ethnocentrism increased. In addition, for black students, unfriendly actions

TABLE 6-7. OWN UNFRIENDLY BEHAVIOR TOWARD OTHER-RACE STUDENTS AS RELATED TO STUDENT CHARACTERISTICS, HOME BACKGROUND, AND SCHOOL POSITION[a]

	Black Students		White Students	
Predictors	Simple Correlation	Partial Beta	Simple Correlation	Partial Beta
1. Opinion of other race prior to high school	-.17***	-.10*	-.16***	-.06
2. Satisfaction with life circumstances	.04	.07	-.11***	-.03
3. Education of parents	-.02	.02	-.04	.03
4. Unfriendly contacts with students of own race	.37***	.31***	.45***	.36***
5. Sex (high score is female)	-.20***	-.11**	-.31***	-.14***
6. Year in school	-.08**	-.05	-.08**	-.02
7. Being in Vocational program	-.01	-.06	.08**	.04
8. Being in Fine and Practical Arts program	-.03	-.03	-.03	-.01
9. Being in Academic program	-.03	.00	-.09***	-.04
10. Being at School 1	.01	.03	--	--
11. Being at School 2	.10***	.04	.04	.05

(continued)

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[a] The number of students with valid scores varies somewhat for each pair of variables; median N is about 1,790 black students and about 1,900 white students.

*Indicates relationship is significant at .05 level.

**Indicates relationship is significant at .01 level.

***Indicates relationship is significant at .001 level for partial Betas, .005 level for correlations.

TABLE 6-7. (cont.) OWN UNFRIENDLY BEHAVIOR TOWARD OTHER-RACE STUDENTS, AS RELATED TO STUDENT CHARACTERISTICS, HOME BACKGROUND, AND SCHOOL POSITION[a]

Predictors	Black Students Simple Correlation	Black Students Partial Beta	White Students Simple Correlation	White Students Partial Beta
12. Being at School 3	-.05	-.03	-.05	-.02
13. Being at School 4	.03	-.01	-.02	.01
14. Being at School 5	.00	.01	-.01	.01
15. Being at School 6	b	b	-.03	-.01
16. Being at School 7	.02	.01	.05	.07
17. Being at School 8	.12***	.07	b	b
18. Being at School 9	-.02	-.02	.00	.04
19. Being at School 10	-.03	-.03	.09***	.05
20. Being at School 11	-.13***	-.09	-.03	.02
21. Acceptance of conventional school norms	-.16***	-.03	-.20***	-.08*
22. Educational aspirations	-.05	-.01	-.07*	-.01
23. Church activity	-.03	.02	-.08**	.02
24. Amount of friendly contact with other race outside of school	-.08**	-.04	.01	.04

(continued)

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[b] No data are shown here because School 6 was average in unfriendly behavior by black students and School 8 was average in unfriendly behavior by white students; these schools were used as standards against which other schools were compared.

TABLE 6-7. (cont.) OWN UNFRIENDLY BEHAVIOR TOWARD OTHER-RACE STUDENTS AS RELATED TO STUDENT CHARACTERISTICS, HOME BACKGROUND, AND SCHOOL POSITION[a]

	Black Students		White Students	
Predictors	Simple Correlation	Partial Beta	Simple Correlation	Partial Beta
25. Positive family attitudes toward other race	-.20***	-.08	-.12***	-.03
26. Amount of time to reach school	.08**	.04	.09***	.02
27. Segregation of neighborhood	-.04	-.06	-.05	-.05
28. Age at which got to know any other-race children	-.01	-.05	-.06*	-.05
29. Initial preference for going to another school	.04	-.02	.09***	.04
30. Racial ethnocentrism (Blacks)	.14***	.10**	--	--
31. Racial ethnocentrism (Whites)	--	--	.22***	.13***
32. Reluctance to endorse power tactics by Blacks in society (Blacks)	-.04	-.03	--	--
33. Sympathy with black demands in society (Whites)	--	--	-.03	-.04
Multiple correlation (R), using all predictors	R=.48***	(R^2=.23)	R=.54***	(R^2=.30)

toward white schoolmates were most frequent among those who had the least favorable opinion of Whites before coming to their present school.

For both black and white students, boys were more apt than girls to score high on our measure of unfriendly behavior. This probably is due to the fact that the measure includes two items dealing with physical violence, in which boys are usually more apt to engage. As we saw in the previous section, white boys and white girls did not differ with respect to friendly contacts with Blacks, while black girls were less likely than black boys to have friendly contacts with white students. Thus, it may be that, while girls scored lower on the measure of unfriendly behavior used here, they were equally or even more unfriendly in other ways.

Finally, one other predictor in this set--agreement with conventional school norms--makes a significant contribution to predicting unfriendly behavior by white students. The more white students indicated agreement with such norms (e.g., showing respect to teachers, obeying school rules), the less likely they were to act in an overtly unfriendly way toward black students.

Unfriendly behavior toward other-race students is not significantly associated, for either race, with a number of student characteristics, aspects of the home situation, and aspects of school position. The variables which are not related to unfriendly behavior, when other things are held constant, include: 1) the student's satisfaction with his life circumstances (in school and out); 2) parents' educational level; 3) family racial attitudes; 4) year in school; 5) school program (i.e., Academic, General, etc.); 6) school attended; 7) amount of friendly inter-racial contact outside of high school; 8) age at which students got to know other-race children; 9) educational aspirations; 10) amount of church activity; 11) amount of time to reach school; 12) initial preference for going to another school; 13) sympathy with black demands in society (among Whites); and 14) reluctance to endorse power tactics by Blacks in society (among Blacks).

Opportunity for, and Conditions of, Contact

To what extent is unfriendly behavior toward other-race students associated with the amount of opportunity for contact with such students in school and with various circumstances in the school situation which surround these inter-racial contacts? Table 6-8 shows the relevant data.

For black students, only two variables in this set make a significant contribution to predicting frequency of unfriendly behavior toward white students. The more that black students saw black teachers as feeling that black students should not be as friendly with Whites as with Blacks, the more unfriendly was their behavior toward Whites. (It may be noted that, on the average, black students perceived black teachers as being in favor of friendly contact with Whites, and slightly more in favor of such friendly contact than were white teachers.)

The second predictor of unfriendly behavior by black students is their perceptions of the attitudes of other black students in their school toward Whites. The more positive black students saw the attitudes of their black schoolmates as being, the less likely they were to act in an unfriendly way toward Whites. Thus, for black students, the only two variables predicting unfriendly behavior, in the set bearing on opportunity for and conditions of contact, are those which concern the opinions of relevant others in the school situation (black teachers and black peers).

Among white students, as among black students, the perceived racial attitudes of teachers of one's own race (white teachers, in this case) are also related significantly to the amount of unfriendly behavior toward other-race students. In addition, among white students, unfriendly actions toward black schoolmates are related to perceptions of the relative status of white and black students. The higher that white students judged the academic status of Whites (e.g., the proportion getting good grades, the proportion in slow classes), relative to the academic status of Blacks, the more

TABLE 6-8. OWN UNFRIENDLY BEHAVIOR TOWARD OTHER-RACE STUDENTS, AS RELATED TO REPORTED OPPORTUNITIES AND PERCEIVED CIRCUMSTANCES OF SCHOOL CONTACT[a]

	Black Students		White Students	
Predictors	Simple Correlation	Partial Beta	Simple Correlation	Partial Beta
1. Positive peer attitudes toward other race	-.14***	-.09*	-.14***	-.05
2. Opportunity for in-class contact	-.02	-.03	.04	.04
3. Opportunity for around-school contact	.04	.07	.04	.06
4. Opportunity for contact with black faculty	.03	.05	.00	.01
5. Total number of club memberships	-.01	.01	-.05	-.04
6. Strictness of school	.03	-.01	.08**	.08*
7. Amount of problem-solving activity	-.11***	-.06	-.10***	-.07
8. Power of black students relative to white students	.00	.07	.05	-.02
9. Nonacademic status of white students, relative to black students	-.09***	-.05	.01	-.10*

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[a] The number of students with valid scores varies somewhat for each pair of variables; median N is about 1,520 black students and about 1,720 white students.

*Indicates relationship is significant at .05 level.

**Indicates relationship is significant at .01 level.

***Indicates relationship is significant at .001 level for partial Betas and .005 level for correlations.

(continued)

TABLE 6-8. OWN UNFRIENDLY BEHAVIOR TOWARD OTHER-RACE STUDENTS, AS RELATED TO REPORTED OPPORTUNITIES AND PERCEIVED CIRCUMSTANCES OF SCHOOL CONTACT[a]

	Black Students		White Students	
Predictors	Simple Correlation	Partial Beta	Simple Correlation	Partial Beta
10. Proportion of own-race students from low-income families, relative to other race	-.03	-.00	$-.07^{*}$	-.04
11. Academic status of white students relative to black students	$-.10^{***}$	-.05	$.08^{**}$	$.17^{**}$
12. Extent other-race students facilitate reaching own goals	$-.06^{*}$	-.05	$-.14^{***}$	$-.08^{*}$
13. Favoritism of school personnel toward white students	.05	.08	$.07^{*}$	-.08
14. Favoritism of school personnel toward black students	.02	-.03	$.10^{***}$	$.16^{*}$
15. Norms of white teachers unfavorable to inter-racial contacts	$.15^{***}$	.03	$.19^{***}$	$.16^{***}$
16. Norms of black teachers unfavorable to inter-racial contact	$.21^{***}$	$.18^{***}$	--	--
Multiple Correlation (R), using all predictors together	$R = .29^{***} (R^2 = .08)$		$R = .30^{***} (R^2 = .09)$	

unfriendly behavior toward Blacks they reported. However, perceptions of the relative nonacademic status of Blacks have an opposite, though less strong relationship, to unfriendly behavior. The higher that Whites judged the nonacademic status of Whites relative to Blacks (i.e., the proportion of each group in prestigeful school positions) the less unfriendly behavior toward Blacks they reported.

The reasons for the opposite relationships of relative academic status and relative nonacademic status are not clear. It may be that in those situations where a relatively large proportion of black students are low in academic status (e.g., get poor grades, are in slow classes), the black students are more likely to act in ways which anger many white students. On the other hand, those situations where Blacks are relatively low in nonacademic status may not be associated with behavior by Blacks which angers white students. (This possible explanation does not account for the fact that perceptions of higher nonacademic status for Whites is associated with somewhat less unfriendly behavior toward Blacks, but this effect might be seen as due to extraneous factors.) A second possible explanation of the pattern of results found is that perceptions of the relative status of the two races may be a consequence of general racial attitudes, which are reflected in unfriendly behavior. According to this line of reasoning, those Whites who act more often in an unfriendly way toward Blacks are most hostile toward Blacks and so tend to see them as low in desirable characteristics, such as doing well academically. However, hostile Whites also may tend to exaggerate the number of black students in prestigeful positions, seeing such a situation as reflecting not the merits of the black students involved, but favoritism toward Blacks by others or unfair efforts at dominance by Blacks.

Three other variables in this set help to predict the amount of unfriendly behavior which white students direct toward Blacks.

The more white students saw school personnel (teachers, administrators, and security guards) as showing favoritism toward black students, the more unfriendly they acted toward Blacks. Also, white students who saw their school as most strict (with respect to rules, punishments, etc.) were somewhat more likely than others to act in an unfriendly way toward black students. This does not mean that strict discipline leads to more inter-racial fighting since, as we have seen in Chapter 5, schools with stricter discipline (as perceived by students) had a lower average level of reported unfriendly behavior by white students. The present results, for individuals, appear to indicate rather that those white students who acted in an unfriendly way toward Blacks were more likely than other students to see the school as strict--perhaps because they were more likely than others to have personal familiarity with firm disciplinary procedures. Finally, the more that white students saw black students as facilitating achievement of their (the Whites') goals, the less likely they were to behave in an unfriendly way toward the Blacks.

A number of variables bearing on opportunities for, and conditions of, inter-racial contact turn out not to have a significant association with unfriendly behavior, when other relevant variables are held constant. The variables in this set which have no significant associations with unfriendly behavior by either race include students' reports and perceptions about: 1) opportunity for in-class inter-racial contact; 2) opportunity for around-school inter-racial contact; 3) opportunity for contact with black faculty; 4) total number of club and activity memberships; 5) amount of problem-solving activity in the school; 6) power of black students, relative to white students; 7) favoritism of school personnel toward white students; and 8) the proportion of other-race students who are from low-income families, relative to the proportion from one's own race.

Perceptions of, and Emotions Toward, Other Race

The third set of possible predictors of unfriendly behavior to be considered are those concerning a) perceptions of other-race students, and b) relevant emotions, including fear, anger, and school loyalty. To what extent is each of these variables related to unfriendly behavior toward other-race students? Table 6-9 shows the relevant data.

Generally, the results are similar for black and for white students. For students of both races, unfriendly actions toward the other race increased as: a) anger at other-race students increased; b) fear of being hit by other-race students increased; and c) perception of the personal characteristics of other-race students became less favorable.

Several variables help to predict the amount of unfriendly behavior among students of one race, but not the other. Among white students, the more a student saw black students as being physically tough (i.e., good fighters and not afraid of Whites), the less likely he was to act in an overtly unfriendly way toward Blacks.

Among black students, the more the student saw Whites as trying hard in school, the less likely he was to act in an unfriendly way toward Whites.

For students of both races, neither actions reflecting school loyalty nor perception of the proportion of other-race students who are smart in school are significantly related to unfriendly actions when other predictors are controlled.

Total Variance Accounted For

So far in this section, we have focused on the question of which variables are the best predictors of unfriendly inter-racial behavior. Now we ask: How much of the variance in such unfriendly behavior (i.e., the scatter of individual scores around the mean) can be explained by each of the sets of predictor variables and by all of the predictor variables taken together? The answers to these

TABLE 6-9. OWN UNFRIENDLY BEHAVIOR TOWARD OTHER-RACE STUDENTS, AS RELATED TO PERCEPTIONS OF, AND EMOTIONS TOWARD, OTHER-RACE STUDENTS[a]

	Black Students		White Students	
Predictors	Simple Correlation	Partial Beta	Simple Correlation	Partial Beta
1. Perceived good qualities of other-race students	-.27***	-.17***	-.25***	-.13**
2. Perceived physical toughness of other-race students	-.12***	-.05	-.20***	-.19***
3. Fear of other-race students	.18***	.15***	.21***	.13***
4. Anger at other-race students	.27***	.19***	.26***	.15***
5. Actions reflecting loyalty to school	.03	.07	-.06*	-.05
6. Perceived extent other-race students try hard	-.18***	-.11**	-.13***	-.01
7. Perceived smartness of other-race students	-.12***	-.04	-.13***	.03
Multiple correlation (R), using all predictors above	R=.39***	(R^2=.16)	R=.37***	(R^2=.14)

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[a] The number of students with valid scores varies somewhat for each pair of variables; median N is about 1580 black students and about 1770 white students.

*Indicates relationship is significant at .05 level.

**Indicates relationship is significant at .01 level.

***Indicates relationship is significant at .001 level for partial Betas and .005 level for correlations.

questions, which are given by the squares of the multiple correlation coefficients (R^2), are as follows:

1. The first set of predictors--bearing on student characteristics, home situation, and basic school position--accounts for 23 percent of the variance in unfriendly behavior among black students and 30 percent of the variance in unfriendly behavior among white students.
2. The second set of predictors--concerning opportunities for, and conditions of, inter-racial contact in the school--accounts for only small proportions of the variance in unfriendly behavior--8 percent among black students and 9 percent among white students.
3. The third set of variables--dealing with perceptions of and emotions toward other-race students--also accounts only for relatively small proportions of the variance in unfriendly behavior--16 percent among black students and 14 percent among white students.
4. When variables in the three sets are all pooled together, they account for 31 percent of the variance in unfriendly inter-racial behavior among black students and 36 percent of the variance in unfriendly behavior among Whites.

A Summary View

Now we sum up the data which have been presented in this chapter and present some additional summary data. To aid in grasping the entire set of results presented so far, we first present Summary Table 6-10. This table shows all of the statistically significant partial Betas--i.e., all those instances where a variable makes a significant contribution to predicting a given type of inter-racial behavior, after the effect of other predictors has been removed.

TABLE 6-10. SUMMARY OF VARIABLES WHICH MAKE SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION TO PREDICTING RELATIONS BETWEEN STUDENTS OF DIFFERENT RACE (Data Shown Are Partial Betas)

A. Student Characteristics, Home Background, and School Position	Avoidance		Friendly Contact		Own Unfriendly Action	
	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	Whites
1. Friendly interaction with other race outside this high school		-.09*	.35***	.44***		
2. Racial ethnocentrism (Whites)		.27***		-.21***		.13***
3. Racial ethnocentrism (Blacks)	.09*				.10**	
4. Unfriendly relations with same-race students	.23***	.15***	.09*	.12***	.31***	.36***
5. Positive family attitude toward other race	-.19***	-.12***				
6. Education of parents		.09*				
7. Favorable opinion of other race prior to high school	-.09*				-.10*	
8. Age first got to know other-race children			-.08*			
9. Sex (high score = female)		.09**	-.08*		-.11**	-.14***
10. Sympathy with demands of Blacks in society		-.10**				
11. Agreement with conventional school norms						-.08*

(continued)

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* Indicates relationship is significant at .05 level.

** Indicates relationship is significant at .01 level.

*** Indicates relationship is significant at .001 level.

TABLE 6-10. SUMMARY OF VARIABLES WHICH MAKE SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION
(cont.) TO PREDICTING RELATIONS BETWEEN STUDENTS OF DIFFERENT RACE

A. Student Characteristics, Home Background, and School Position	Avoidance		Friendly Contact		Own Unfriendly Action	
	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	Whites
12. Year in school			.10*	.07*		
13. Being in Academic program			.09*			
14. Attendance at School 1			.10**			
15. Attendance at School 3			.10*			
16. Attendance at School 4	.10*					
17. Attendance at School 10		.11**				
18. Attendance at School 11				.14**		
B. Opportunity for, and Conditions of, Inter-racial Contact (As Reported or Perceived by Student)						
1. Positive attitudes by school peers toward other race	-.12**	-.20***	.12**	.22***	-.09*	
2. Opportunity for in-class contact	-.10*		.15***	.18***		
3. Opportunity for around-school contact			.10**	.11***		
4. Number of club and activity memberships		-.08*	.31***	.25***		

(continued)

TABLE 6-10. SUMMARY OF VARIABLES WHICH MAKE SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION
(cont.) TO PREDICTING RELATIONS BETWEEN STUDENTS OF DIFFERENT RACE

B. Opportunity for, and Conditions of, Inter-racial Contact (As Reported or Perceived by Student)	Avoidance		Friendly Contact		Own Unfriendly Action	
	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	Whites
5. Academic status of Whites, relative to Blacks		.12*				.17**
6. Nonacademic status of Whites, relative to Blacks						-.10*
7. Proportion low income students of same race, relative to other race		-.14***				
8. School favoritism to Blacks						.16*
9. Problem-solving activities in school	-.11**					
10. Norms of white teachers less favorable to inter-racial friendship		.18***				.16***
11. Norms of black teachers less favorable to inter-racial friendship	.18***				.18***	
12. Strictness of school						.08*
13. Extent other-race students facilitate reaching own goals	-.11**	-.22***	.09*	.15***		-.08*

(continued)

TABLE 6-10. SUMMARY OF VARIABLES WHICH MAKE SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION (cont.) TO PREDICTING RELATIONS BETWEEN STUDENTS OF DIFFERENT RACE

(Data Shown Are Partial Betas)

C. Perceptions of, and Emotions Toward, Other-Race Students, Plus Loyalty to School	Avoidance		Friendly Contact		Own Unfriendly Action	
	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	Whites
1. Perceived good qualities of other race	$-.23^{***}$	$-.30^{***}$	$.19^{***}$	$.25^{***}$	$-.17^{***}$	$-.13^{**}$
2. Anger at other race	$.18^{***}$	$.20^{***}$			$.19^{***}$	$.15^{***}$
3. Fear of other race	$.17^{***}$	$.13^{***}$			$.15^{***}$	$.13^{***}$
4. Perceived physical toughness of other race		$-.09^{**}$	$.11^{**}$			$-.19^{***}$
5. Own loyalty to school			$.23^{***}$	$.12^{***}$		
6. Perceived extent other-race students try hard					$-.11^{**}$	
7. Perceived smartness of other-race students				$.15^{***}$		

Student Characteristics, Home Background, and School Position

First, let us review the effects of the set of variables (set A in Table 6-10) which includes student characteristics, home background, and basic school position.

The data show, first, that a student's inter-racial experiences outside of high school have a marked association with his inter-racial behavior inside the high school. In particular, for both black and white students, friendly inter-racial contact outside the student's present school (in grade school, neighborhood, etc.) is the best predictor, by far, of friendly contact with other-race students in his high school. Related to these outside experiences, among black students, the more favorable the students' opinions of Whites prior to attending their present high school, the less their reported avoidance of white students; and the older black students were when they first got to know any white children fairly well, the less friendly contact with white schoolmates they report in high school. In total, these data indicate that a student's relationships with other-race students in high school can be understood most fully in the context of his total set of inter-racial contacts in a variety of settings.

A second important type of predictor of inter-racial behavior in the high school, especially that of white students, are students' beliefs about race relations in society generally. The set of beliefs which we have called racial ethnocentrism--i.e., beliefs in maintaining social distance between the races, in the moral superiority of one's own race, and in a militant posture toward the other race in a variety of ways--is one of the best predictors of all three types of white behavior toward black students. The measure of white sympathy with black demands in society also has a significant, though weaker, association with avoidance of black students (more sympathy, less avoidance). Among black students, a similar measure of racial ethnocentrism is also associated with inter-racial behavior (more ethnocentrism, more avoidance of and more unfriendly actions toward Whites), but the relationship of ethnocentrism to black students' behavior is less strong and less consistent than that found among white students. To what extent students' general beliefs about racial issues reflect the effect of forces outside school (e.g., community norms) and to what extent they have been affected by experiences with other-race students in school, we cannot say. In any case, the students' behavior in school, especially that of the white students, is clearly related to their general racial beliefs.

Along with the student's contact with other-race people outside of his present school, and his general beliefs about race relations, the attitudes of the student's family (as he perceives them) also have a significant association with inter-racial behavior. However, for both black and white students, a significant effect of family attitudes is evident only with respect to attempts to avoid other-race students, and not with respect to the amount of friendly inter-racial contact experienced or to the student's own unfriendly behavior. Thus, while family influences appear to be present, they seem to affect the student's readiness to enter interaction with other-race students more than the actual amount or nature of interaction which occurs. A further finding with respect to family is that, among white students, coming from a family where parents are more highly educated tends to produce greater avoidance of black students.

Several factors which appear to reflect primarily the personal characteristics of the students also help to predict inter-racial behavior. The most important of these is the amount of unfriendly contacts (fights, arguments) which students have with schoolmates of their own race. Variations in such unfriendly relationships probably reflect, in substantial part, differences in personality and social background among students. For both black and white students, the amount of unfriendly contact with students of one's own race is the best single predictor of the number of unfriendly actions the student took toward students of another race. Higher levels of unfriendly interaction with same-race schoolmates are also associated with more attempts to avoid other-race students and with somewhat more friendly contacts with other-race students as well. Apparently some students had a high level of relationships of all kinds (though particularly negative ones) with students of both races, even though they often tried to avoid at least some cross-racial contacts.

Another personal characteristic associated with inter-racial behavior is sex. White girls were somewhat less likely than white boys to try to avoid black students, but black girls were somewhat less likely than black boys to have friendly contacts with white schoolmates. Among both races, girls were less likely to score high on our measure of unfriendly behavior toward the other race, a measure which taps especially acts of physical violence. One other personal characteristic--agreement with conventional norms of behavior in school--is also associated, for Whites, with the amount of unfriendly behavior directed toward the other race. The more students accept conventional standards of behavior, the less likely they are to act in an overtly unfriendly way toward the other race.

Finally, among the first set of possible predictors, several factors bearing on the student's position in school have a significant association with inter-racial interaction. For students of both races, the higher the school year (from freshman to senior), the more the friendly inter-racial contact during the semester. Among Blacks, students in the Academic program were more likely than other black students to have friendly contacts with Whites. In addition, attendance at certain schools made a significant difference for inter-racial contacts. Specifically, for black students, attendance at Schools 1 and 3 contributed to more friendly contacts with white schoolmates, while attendance at School 4 contributed to greater avoidance of Whites. Among white students, attendance at School 11 contributed to more friendly contacts with black students, while attendance at School 10 contributed to more avoidance of Blacks.

Opportunities for and Conditions of Contact

Next, we may summarize the relationships found between race relations and opportunities for, and conditions of, inter-racial contact within the school (see Part B of Table 6-10).

The data show, first, that the amount of opportunity for inter-racial contact in the school has, in itself, a significant effect on inter-racial relations--especially on the amount of friendly contact. For students of both races, the more opportunity they had for inter-racial contact in the classroom and the more opportunity they had for such contacts elsewhere around the school, the more friendly relationships they had with schoolmates of the other race. Even more strongly related to friendly inter-racial contacts for both races was the number of school activities (clubs, teams, and other extra-curricular activities) in which students participated. A number of factors may account for this association. For example, participants in activities may tend to be more sociable persons than nonparticipants. However, our interviews with many students suggest that another reason for this association is that clubs, teams, and other activities provide an opportunity for students of different races to meet in circumstances (e.g., common interests, common goals, chance to talk informally) that lead to their establishing a friendly relationship in that activity and often outside it as well.

In addition to the opportunity for inter-racial contact, several of the circumstances surrounding the contact (as perceived by the students) also have a significant association with the nature of interaction between the races. One of the important conditions of inter-racial contact is the attitudes of relevant others--both peers and teachers--in the school situation. The more black and white students see schoolmates of their own race as having positive attitudes toward other-race students, the less likely they are to avoid students of the other race, the more likely they are to have friendly inter-racial contacts, and (for black students) the less likely they are to act in an unfriendly way toward the other race. For students of both races again, the less they see teachers of their own race as favoring friendly contacts between the races, the more likely they are to avoid other-race students and to act in an unfriendly way toward them.

Two aspects of the way in which students see other-race students in relation to themselves and their goals also have significant effects on inter-racial behavior. For both black and white students, the more they saw other-race students as facilitating, rather than hindering, the achievement of their own goals, the less likely they were to avoid the other-race students, the more likely they were to have friendly contacts with them, and (for Whites) the less likely they were to act in an unfriendly way toward the other race. In addition, the perceptions which white students had concerning the relative status of white and black students in their school was related significantly to the inter-racial behavior of the Whites. The more white students saw themselves as higher than their black schoolmates in academic status within the school, and in the income levels of their families, the more they tried to avoid the Blacks. Also, the more that Whites saw themselves as higher than Blacks in academic status, the more unfriendly behavior they directed toward black students. The only exception to the pattern of higher perceived status for Whites being associated with nonfriendly behavior toward Blacks comes with respect to nonacademic status (i.e., occupying prestigeful nonacademic positions in the school). The higher that white students saw the nonacademic status of Whites in their school, relative to Blacks, the less their unfriendly behavior toward black students.

Finally, with respect to the conditions of inter-racial contact in the school, several aspects of the policies and practices of school personnel (as perceived by students) have significant associations with inter-racial behavior. Among white students, the more they saw school personnel as showing favoritism toward black students, the more unfriendly behavior they directed toward Blacks. Among black students, the more they perceived efforts within the school (by school administration and by the Student Council) to solve racial and other problems in the school, the less likely they were to avoid white students. Last, unfriendly behavior by white students toward Blacks is associated somewhat with perceptions of the school as strict in discipline--probably reflecting, at least in part, a tendency for those who participate in inter-racial arguments and fights to have more personal familiarily with firm disciplinary procedures.

Perceptions of, and Emotions Toward, Other Race

Next we summarize data concerning perceptions of, and emotions toward, students of the other race (see Part C of Table 6-10). These data show that, for students of both races, perceptions of the personal traits of students of the other race are strongly and consistently related to their behavior. The more positively a student viewed the personal qualities of other-race students, the less likely he was to avoid them, the more friendly inter-racial contacts he had, the less often he acted in an unfriendly way toward other-race students. Also important for both black and white students was the frequency of either anger toward, or fear of, other-race students. The more often students felt angry toward those of the other race in their school, the more often they tried to avoid the other-race students and the more often they got into fights (physical and/or verbal) with them. Similarly, fear of other-race students was associated both with avoidance of, and unfriendly behavior toward the other race.

Whereas the emotions of anger and fear are associated with negative inter-racial relations (avoidance and unfriendly actions), loyalty to the school is associated with positive (friendly) relationships. Both among black and among white students, the more the evidence of loyalty toward the school as a whole, the more the friendly contact with students of the other race.

Perception of the other race as physically tough is associated with less negative race relations. The more Whites saw black students as physically tough, the less they avoided Blacks, and especially, the less they acted in an unfriendly way toward black students. The more the Blacks saw white students as physically tough, the more friendly contact they had with Whites.

Finally, perceptions about the academic competence and effort of other-race students have some association with inter-racial behavior. Among white students, a larger estimate of the proportion of black students who are smart in school is associated with more friendly contact with Blacks; among black students, the larger the proportion of Whites who are seen as trying hard in school, the less the unfriendly actions toward Whites.

In reviewing the association between inter-racial behavior and perceptions of, and emotions toward, other-race students, it is well to keep in mind that the causal direction is probably reciprocal. The images which students hold of other-race schoolmates and the emotions they feel toward them will undoubtedly affect their inter-racial behavior. On the other hand, the nature of the inter-racial association which a student experiences may affect his perceptions of, and feelings toward, the other race.

School Versus Nonschool Factors

In reviewing the factors which are associated with inter-racial behavior, it has been apparent that some of these factors--such as family attitudes and the age at which a student first met other-race children--are largely independent of the high school situation; they are "outside" factors which are "brought into" the high school. On the other hand, some factors which are associated with inter-racial behavior in the high school--such as the opportunity for inter-racial contact in the classroom--reflect aspects of the school situation.[8] Still other factors--such as racial ethnocentrism--probably reflect a mixture of both school experiences and personal and background characteristics.[9]

If we focus our attention on the first two sets of factors, we can now ask: How much of the variation in the types of inter-racial behaviors which students report can be accounted for by factors which reflect variations in school situations, as compared to factors which reflect variations in the personal characteristics and backgrounds which students bring to the school situation?[10]

To assess the relative importance of school and nonschool factors in accounting for race relations, two multiple correlation analyses--each in two stages--were run. In the first analysis, the percentage of variance in a given aspect of race relations (e.g., avoidance by black students) which is accounted for by all nonschool factors together was computed in stage one; in stage two the percentage of variance in avoidance which is accounted for by all nonschool factors plus all school factors was computed. The difference between these percentages indicates the additional percentage of variance which is accounted for by adding school factors. A second analysis followed a similar procedure, except that this time the percentage of variance accounted for by school factors was computed first and the amount of additional variance accounted for by adding nonschool factors to the set of predictors was computed second. By comparing the amount of additional variance accounted for by adding school factors and by adding nonschool factors, respectively, beyond what is accounted for by the other set, one can assess the relative importance of the two sets of factors.

The data from these analyses are presented in Table 6-11. These data indicate the following:

1. With respect to avoidance of other-race students, factors reflecting school experiences are much more important than nonschool factors in accounting for avoidance behavior among white students. Among black students, school and nonschool factors are about equal in importance for explaining avoidance behavior.

TABLE 6-11. RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF SCHOOL AND NONSCHOOL FACTORS[a] IN ACCOUNTING FOR VARIANCE AMONG STUDENTS IN INTER-RACIAL INTERACTION

A. Nonschool Factors Entering Multiple Correlation First

	Percentage of Variance Explained By:		
	Nonschool Factors Alone[b] (1)	Nonschool Factors Plus School Factors[c] (2)	Additional Variance Explained by School Factors (2) - (1)
Avoidance of other-race students (index)			
Blacks	16.1	22.5	6.4
Whites	17.6	31.6	14.0
Friendly contact with other-race students (index)			
Blacks	23.6	31.6	8.0
Whites	30.9	42.7	11.9
Own unfriendly action toward other-race students (index)			
Blacks	10.5	17.0	6.5
Whites	15.2	21.8	6.6

(continued)

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[a] Some factors which are partially school and partially nonschool are omitted from this analysis. Thus, the total amounts of explained variance shown are lower than for analyses in which all predictors are included.

[b] Nonschool factors include: education of parents; sex; acceptance of conventional school norms; church activity; friendly inter-racial contact outside of school; family racial attitudes; time to reach school; segregation of neighborhood; age of first contact with other race; initial preference among high schools; and opinion of other race prior to high school.

[c] School factors include: school attended; school program; opportunity for inter-racial contacts (in class and around school); contact with black faculty; number of club and activity memberships; perceptions of strictness of school; amount of problem-solving activity; relative power of black and white students; relative status of black and white students; extent other race facilitates reaching own goals; favoritism of staff toward white students and toward black students; norms of teachers about inter-racial contact; racial attitudes of school peers.

TABLE 6-11. (cont.) RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF SCHOOL AND NONSCHOOL FACTORS[a] IN ACCOUNTING FOR VARIANCE AMONG STUDENTS IN INTER-RACIAL INTERACTION

B. School Factors Entering Multiple Correlation First

	Percentage of Variance Explained By:		
	Nonschool Factors Alone[b]	Nonschool Factors Plus School Factors[c]	Additional Variance Explained by School Factors (2) - (1)
Avoidance of other-race students (index)			
Blacks	16.6	22.5	5.9
Whites	27.9	31.6	3.7
Friendly contact with other-race students (index)			
Blacks	19.0	31.6	12.5
Whites	29.8	42.7	12.9
Own unfriendly actions toward other-race students (index)			
Blacks	12.1	17.0	5.0
Whites	12.4	21.8	9.5

2. With respect to friendly interaction with other-race students, nonschool factors are somewhat more important than school experience factors in accounting for the amount of friendly inter-racial contact experienced by black students. For white students, the school factors and nonschool factors are about equal in importance as predictors.

3. With respect to unfriendly behavior toward other-race students, nonschool factors are somewhat more important than school factors in accounting for the amount of unfriendly behavior by white students toward Blacks. On the other hand, school factors are slightly more important in accounting for the unfriendly behavior of Blacks toward Whites.[11]

Overall, neither factors reflecting experiences and perceptions in the school situation, nor factors reflecting conditions separate from the school situation, show a consistent superiority to the other set as predictors of the inter-racial behavior of either racial group. We conclude that both types of factors need to be considered together in order to provide adequate explanations of behavior. If this is so, it follows that attempts to change race relations in the school require attention to both school and nonschool factors.

Proportion of Variance "Explained"

How much of the total variation in the inter-racial behavior of individual students have we been able to "account for" by the total set of predictors used? For white students, our predictors together account for 39 percent of the variance among students in avoidance of Blacks, 46 percent of the variance in friendly contacts, and 36 percent of the variance in unfriendly behavior toward Blacks. For black students, the corresponding percentages of "explained" variance in behavior toward white students are 31, 34, and 31. As these figures indicate, more of the variance in inter-racial behavior among white students than among black students has been explained. Examination of the data indicates that this result is not due to there being less variation among black students than among white students, either on the indices of race relations or on most of the predictor variables. While the reasons for the difference in predictive power for Blacks as compared to Whites are not clear, several possibilities may be considered. One is that some factors which predict better for Blacks may not have been included in the analysis. A second possibility is that a lower proportion of black students than of white students may have filled out our questionnaire accurately.[12] A third possibility is that the predictors of inter-racial behavior among black students may vary more from school to school, or operate in a more complex fashion, than do the same predictors for white students. (We hope to check on this last possibility in further analyses.)

There is clearly, for both races, much variation in students' scores on our measures of race relations which is not "explained" by their scores on our other measures. Undoubtedly, much of the unexplained variance is due to measurement error, some of which occurs in all studies.[13] In addition, we may have omitted some variables which would help to explain inter-racial behavior. Furthermore, our analysis so far has assumed that the effects of various predictors are additive and linear. These assumptions may be oversimplifications in some cases, since the effect of one predictor may vary with the level of another predictor and relationships may be curvilinear. We hope in later analyses to explore the pattern of relationships further and perhaps to improve the total amount of variance in the data that can be explained.

While cognizant of the limitations of this analysis, we should also recognize its strengths. We have shown significant, and sometimes strong, relationships between inter-racial behavior and a number of factors in the school and outside of school. These factors, in combination, account for a substantial fraction of the total variance in the behavior of individual students. (If we take into account the effects of measurement error, the "true" proportion of variance accounted for by the predictors used is undoubtedly higher.) In combination with the data of Chapter 5, which help to account for variations among schools, there is clearly much of use in these data for those who wish to understand and improve race relations in the schools.

Chapter 7. Conclusions and Recommendations

In this final chapter, we will draw some overall conclusions from the data and will suggest some possible implications of the results for policies of the school system and the community. Before discussing the results and their implications, let us make some observations about the general nature of the study and its possible usefulness.

Nature and Usefulness of Study

We have presented in this report two types of data: first, a description of the kinds of race relations which existed in the Indianapolis public high schools in the Spring of 1971; and, secondly, an analysis of the factors which were associated with variations in race relations among schools and among individual students. Since the data which are sheerly descriptive were collected in the Spring of 1971, they may not always reflect exactly the current situation in all schools. But the same types of friendly, unfriendly, and avoidance behavior no doubt continue to occur in varying degrees among the different schools and among different subgroups within each school. Thus, while their relative frequency in specific schools may have changed somewhat, the types of behavior described continue to be relevant.

The description of race relations as they existed in the recent past can direct the attention of those in the schools and other concerned citizens both to some desirable outcomes of inter-racial contact and to possible problems which may continue to exist today. Moreover, even where some changes in race relations have occurred since 1971, the descriptive data can serve as a benchmark against which changes to date and in the future can be assessed.

Going beyond the descriptive aspect of the study, this report's greatest value lies in its findings concerning possible determinants of race relations in the schools. We found much variation, both among schools and within schools, in the amount of avoidance, friendly interaction, and unfriendly interaction which occurred between black and white students. The associations reported between these three types of inter-racial behavior and various characteristics of students and of the schools are associations which existed at the time our data were collected. However, these relationships are not likely to be time-bound. For example, the association found between positive peer-group norms and friendly inter-racial contact is likely to hold true at present as well as in 1971. Thus, the findings concerning possible determinants of race relations can serve as an aid to policy-making at any point in time.

In studying the factors which are associated with variations in inter-racial behavior, we have considered two types of data. The first set of data, derived from administrators, school records, and students, considers each of the separate schools as a unit. The average levels of inter-racial avoidance, friendly contact, and unfriendly contact at each school (as reported by students) were correlated with a wide variety of other data about each school. The second set of data, derived from students, considers the individual student as a unit. Scores on each measure of inter-racial behavior were related to a variety of other information about the student. At the individual level, the association between a given type of behavior and a given predictor was controlled for the effects of other variables which may also be related to that behavior. In drawing conclusions about possible determinants of race relations in the schools, we will draw on results from analyses both of differences among schools and among individual students.

When dealing with results from either the school or the individual level, there are important limitations to our analyses which should be borne in mind. First, though we can establish an association between two variables, we cannot always be sure of the causal direction of the relationship--except when we know that one event was prior in time to another. Secondly, our analysis techniques assume that the relationship between any two variables is linear and they do not take account of possible interaction effects--i.e., that the relationship between two variables may differ depending on the value of a third variable. Third, we do not investigate here possible networks of association among variables--e.g., that A is related to C through its association with B. Finally, complete evaluation of the study results should await the results of our analysis of the effects of interracial interaction on students academic performance and aspirations.

Despite these limitations, we think these results are of considerable value. They are based on what is, to our knowledge, the most complete set of data about race relations ever collected in any school system. The types of information obtained were selected both on the basis of the investigators' knowledge of the social science literature and familiarity with the Indianapolis high schools gained through extensive interviews in the schools. Also, whereas many studies examine the effects on race relations of one or a few factors in isolation, these data permit us to view the association of any one factor in the context of information about a wide variety of other relevant aspects of the situation.

While conclusions and implications from the present data should be drawn cautiously, and sometimes tentatively, we think it is useful to draw some conclusions now because many decisions by school administrators and others cannot wait until all the possible analyses have been done on the data from this and other studies. Later, more sophisticated analyses of the data concerning determinants of interracial interaction should provide elaboration of the findings and additional insights,[1] but these analyses are not likely to change the general conclusions drawn from the present analyses about which factors generally have the strongest associations with interracial behavior.

We turn, then, to a discussion of the present results and their implications. First we will review the picture of race relations in the schools and of the reactions of students to inter-racial contacts. Then we will consider the ways in which variations in students' inter-racial behavior are related to variations in: a) experiences outside of, and largely prior to, high school--in home, neighborhood, and grade school; b) personal characteristics of students; c) factors in the high school situation--including characteristics of the school, opportunities for inter-racial contact, and conditions of inter-racial contact; and d) student perceptions of other-race schoolmates and their feelings toward these other-race students and toward the school. We will introduce each of these general topic areas by posing some questions or issues of wide public interest.

The Descriptive Picture

How well do black and white students get along with one another in the Indianapolis high schools? How much inter-racial friendliness is there in the schools? How much racial hostility or unfriendliness is there? Do inter-racial contacts in high school result in any attitude changes among students and, if so, of what kind?

The data (primarily as presented in Chapter 4) indicate that students in racially integrated high schools generally had, on balance, fairly friendly contacts with other-race students. Much friendly interaction between the races occurred in school and some friendly relationships extended outside the school. Moreover, more students of both races changed their opinion of the other race in a positive direction than in a negative direction. These findings indicate that, in general, the experience of inter-racial association in high school does work to produce a good deal of meaningful, friendly interaction and more positive inter-racial attitudes.

While previous research and discussion have emphasized the possible effect of inter-racial contacts in reducing racial hostility among Whites, this study indicates that the opinions of black students changed even more positively than did those of Whites. Giving students the opportunity to interact with other-race schoolmates may avoid or reduce a high level of racial hostility which may thrive in segregated school settings. Thus, from the standpoint of reducing black as well as white hostility, there appear to be important payoffs to policies which encourage inter-racial associations in the schools.

While the overall experiences and opinion change of students of both races were positive in most schools, negative inter-racial experiences were frequent at some schools and among some groups of students. The data show that inter-racial avoidance was fairly common among students of both races. Also, a considerable amount of unfriendly interaction--both verbal and physical--occurred between black and white students. In every school, white students were more likely than black students to report unfriendly behavior (e.g., insults, threats, attempts at extortion) directed toward them by students of the other race. Moreover, in every school, black students were more likely to say that they had hit or pushed a white student first than white students were to report hitting a black student first.

In two out of eleven schools, more white students changed their opinions of black people for the worse rather than for the better since coming to high school; in one other school, the amount of positive and negative opinion change among white students was about equal. The results from these schools, along with the mixed results of other studies of inter-racial contact (see Carithers, 1970) caution us that merely bringing black and white students together in the same school building is not a magical formula for reducing prejudice. Much depends on the characteristics and backgrounds of the students and on the school situation, as we will discuss at some length in later sections of this chapter.

The overall inter-racial experience appears, however, to be a positive one generally. The great majority of the students of both races judged their inter-racial contacts to be, in general, fairly friendly. In the light of these data, it appears that many people tend to exaggerate the importance of unfriendly incidents involving black and white students. Occasionally serious fights get much publicity while the more frequent incidents of friendly cooperation may pass relatively unnoticed.

While positive inter-racial experiences outweigh the negative for most students, the occurrence of unfriendly inter-racial interactions is an important problem which needs to be faced squarely. Situations in which unfriendly actions by students of either race are fairly frequent are not likely to bring positive changes in attitudes by those who are the targets of unfriendly actions. Nor can we expect the possible educational benefits that may come from cooperation between the races to occur when interpersonal friction is high. Moreover, opposition to the very concept of racial integration can be expected to grow in these circumstances.

We believe the data from this study provide some help in understanding the reasons why unfriendly behavior occurs and suggest some ways of resolving some of the racial problems we have reported. The data show that unfriendly behavior is not solely a problem between students of different races. The inter-racial interactions of both black and white students often seemed to reflect their (in)abilities to get along with students of their own race. However, the interaction which occurs between the races is also related to racially-salient experiences and attitudes. For example, the data indicated that students' inter-racial experiences were related to their numerical status in the schools and their (lack of) identification with the school they attended. In the following sections, we will consider a variety of factors which are related to the frequency of unfriendly behavior by both black and white students, as well as to the frequency of avoidance and of friendly interaction. The findings provide clues as to the kinds of policies which may reduce hostile actions and increase friendly actions by students of both races.

Home, Neighborhood, and Grade School

School officials, parents of school-age children, and citizens generally have asked a number of questions concerning the effects that students' homes, neighborhoods, and grade school experiences have on their inter-racial experiences in high school. Among these questions are the following: (1) To what extent are students' inter-racial orientations influenced by the attitudes of their parents? (2) To what extent are family characteristics such as parents' education and family structure (i.e., both parents absent or present) related to students' inter-racial experiences in high school? (3) To what extent are students' inter-racial experiences in high school shaped by the kinds of inter-racial contacts they have in their neighborhoods and grade schools? All of the questions point to a more general question: to what extent are students' inter-racial behaviors in high school determined or explained by experiences students have had outside, and especially before high school? Answers to these questions may have important practical implications for educators and other citizens who are concerned about race relations in the high schools.

One of the major conclusions which emerges from the data is that inter-racial experiences outside of high school have a strong association with inter-racial behavior in high school. First, the racial attitudes of the students' families are associated with students' behaviorsin high school; in particular, the more positive their families' racial attitudes, the less the avoidance and the more the friendly inter-racial contact reported by the students. But grade school, neighborhood and other extra-school experiences seem to be even more systematically related to students' inter-racial behaviors. Both for black students and for white students, and looking at variations both among schools and among individuals, the more inter-racial contact students have had in grade school, in their neighborhoods, and in other settings, the more friendly interaction they report with other-race schoolmates in high school. (The effect of friendly inter-racial contacts outside high school is independent of family racial attitudes.) Also, looking at school variations, the more racially segregated the students' neighborhoods, the less friendly inter-racial contact they have with other-race schoolmates.

These data indicate that high school race relations tend to reflect race relations in the larger community. The kinds of inter-racial experiences students have in high school also can be expected to have some bearing on their behaviors in inter-racial settings later in life. Therefore, high school race relations must be seen in a "systemic" framework that emphasizes the community's influences on the students at the same time that it emphasizes the schools' abilities to affect both the experiences students have in school and the kinds of lives they will lead as adults.

From this point of view, improvements in high school race relations could be affected by improvements in community-wide race relations. For example, the data indicate that reducing residential segregation--and thereby increasing the opportunities for early inter-racial contact--would have positive effects on high school race relations. Also, increasing racial integration in the grade schools would have beneficial results. Moreover, efforts to maximize inter-racial contact among young people in settings such as Scout programs, church groups, and summer camps would have positive implications for race relations in the high school setting.

Two additional observations should be made at this point. First, we are not suggesting that high school race relations are determined solely by outside factors. As we have seen and will reiterate, the data indicate a number of personal characteristics of the students and a number of factors about the high schools themselves also affect race relations among the students. However, we do want to emphasize here the consistent indication in the data that forces outside the high school do affect race relations inside the school. Second, we believe school personnel and concerned citizens can affect these forces. For example, school personnel and citizens can affect the racial composition of elementary schools by influencing school board policies. They also can affect the kinds of academic and extra-curricular programs that are conducted in the city's grade schools. School officials also can provide parents with opportunities to understand the effects they have on their children's inter-racial experiences in high school; efforts toward such understanding might produce changes in some negative parental attitudes and might result in more friendly contacts among students. Such efforts also might provide some parents with a new awareness of ways in which they could become more involved in the planning of constructive school programs.

Finally, citizens and school officials can work together to influence other community forces which often are thought to be "beyond" the control of school authorities (e.g., residential segregation). However, to deal with some of these forces, educational organizations may have to expand the usual definition of their responsibilities. For example, teachers, administrators, and school board members might establish more formal ties between the schools and those community agencies (e.g., city government, real estate agencies, corporations) which directly affect the relationship between black and white people in the larger community. Such ties--when they involve professional, educational and teachers associations rather than simply individual contacts--might allow educators and other citizens to help bring about community conditions that are more conducive to harmonious race relations in the high school.

One of the most controversial methods of dealing with community factors affecting high school race relations involves busing. Since some of our data pertain to this issue and since busing has been under consideration in Indianapolis and other cities in recent years, we should speak to those limited aspects of this issue with which our data deal.[2]

The data indicate that white students' avoidance of Blacks and the unfriendliness reported by white students increased as the percentage of either black or white students riding school buses increased.

There was virtually no relationship between busing and black students' inter-racial behaviors. In other words, busing of either race seems to have some negative effects on white students' inter-racial behaviors and few, if any, effects on black students' behaviors. However, these findings are difficult to interpret since it is not clear what it is about riding a bus which might produce such results. Our data permit us to examine three possible dimensions of the busing issue: students' preferences for their school; the time it takes students to travel to school; and the school's racial composition and opportunity for cross-racial contact.

In the context of traditional public beliefs that students should attend the high school closest to their homes and many parents' opposition to busing, it is likely that being bused to school may diminish students' preferences for their school. At the school level, our data indicate that in schools where students had lower preference for their school (prior to attending), the students (particularly white students) had more negative inter-racial experiences. Similar relationships appeared at the individual level when no other variables were controlled. However, when some other relevant variables (like friendly inter-racial contact outside high school and racial ethnocentrism) were controlled statistically, students' initial preferences for their school were no longer related to inter-racial behavior.

Another aspect of busing is that it may increase the time it takes some students to travel to school. At the school level, our data suggest that the longer it took white students to travel to school, the more avoidance and unfriendliness they reported; the time spent traveling to school was not related to black students' inter-racial behaviors. At the individual level, the time it took students to travel to school was slightly related to their negative inter-racial behaviors when no other variables were controlled. However, when controls were made for other relevant variables, differences in amount of time to school were no longer associated with differences in inter-racial behaviors by either white or black students.

We may also examine the possibility that more busing (of either Blacks or Whites) is associated with more negative behavior by white students because busing is likely to result in more inter-racial contact, which (so the argument would run) is unpalatable to many white students. However, the data (to be reviewed in more detail in the section on school situation) show that larger proportions of Blacks in a school and greater opportunity for inter-racial contact are generally associated with more positive inter-racial behavior by students of both races. The data do show that white avoidance of Blacks increases when the racial integration of a school has been rapid.

Overall, then, the data do not provide strong evidence that either going to a school which is not the student's first choice or spending greater time (more than 15 minutes) to get to school, have a marked impact on race relations and they contradict the possibility that greater inter-racial contact leads to more negative behavior. The data do indicate that rapid change in racial proportions may lead to white avoidance. However, the better race relations which generally go with greater racial integration and more inter-racial contact, as well as the better race relations found among students as one goes from freshmen to seniors (see below), suggest that any negative effects of rapid racial change in a school (such as may accompany the beginning of busing) are likely to be temporary.[3]

Student Characteristics

To what extent are high school race relations a function of the personal characteristics of individual students as opposed to being a function of "environmental" considerations? Which of the many personal characteristics of students are most consistently related to patterns of inter-racial interaction? Answers to these questions can provide some clues for improving race relations in the high school setting.

The data indicate that inter-racial behavior is associated with a number of personal characteristics of students. One characteristic about each student which we have interpreted as basically a personality variable concerns the frequency with which students had unfriendly interaction (fights and arguments) with students of their own race. Students who had more trouble getting along with students of their own race were more likely than others to have similarly unfriendly contacts with other-race students and to try to avoid other-race students. Unfriendly contacts with same-race schoolmates is, in fact, the strongest single predictor of an individual's unfriendly contacts with other-race students. These data indicate that the behavior of some students toward those of another race may be partly a reflection of their general interpersonal styles of behavior and/or the result of frustrations students experience in the school situation. To the extent that generally aggressive behavior is a result of personality or behavioral patterns formed by students' family and subcultural backgrounds, there are certain limits on what schools can do about it. To the extent that generally aggressive behavior is a result of frustrations produced by the school situation, school personnel should pay careful attention to possible sources of student frustration. Among the possible sources of frustration are boredom in class and lack of success in school work. Efforts which schools make to ensure that frustrations such as these are reduced may help to reduce interpersonal frictions generally among students.

There are some personal orientations which students bring to the school situation which the community and the schools are in a position to affect rather directly. One is the opinion of other-race people which students have when they come to high school. The more favorable the opinion which students (of either race) had of other-race people before coming to high school, the more friendly contact they had with other-race schoolmates and, especially for black students, the less avoidance and unfriendliness they displayed toward the other race. Another indicator of the general orientation which students may have toward other-race people is racial ethnocentrism. Our own measure of ethnocentrism assesses the extent to which the student subscribes to general beliefs which favor aloofness from the other race, militant actions vis-a-vis the other race, and the superiority of one's own race.[4] Differences in race relations among schools were not related consistently to differences in average levels of ethnocentrism. However, for individual students of both races, and especially among Whites, individual students who were more ethnocentric had fewer friendly contacts with other-race students and avoided or acted in an unfriendly way more often toward those of the other race.

The findings concerning unfavorable opinions prior to high school and racial ethnocentrism are related to the findings mentioned above, that those students who had little friendly contact with other-race students in grade school, neighborhood, and other community settings were least likely to have positive inter-racial contacts in high school. Those students who had the least favorable opinion of other-race students prior to high school, and those students who were most racially ethnocentric, were least likely to have had positive inter-racial contacts outside of high school.[5] Thus, one implication of these findings is the same as the implications drawn above concerning inter-racial association outside of, and especially prior to, high school. Promoting positive inter-racial experiences in grade school, neighborhood, youth organizations, etc., may be expected to lead to a situation where more students entering high school have favorable attitudes toward the other race and a lesser amount of racial ethnocentrism.

In addition to implications for encouraging early inter-racial experiences, these data also suggest the usefulness of countering the inaccuracies in ethnocentric beliefs by means of new materials in existing courses or the creation of new courses at the elementary and high school levels. The introduction of such new information, coupled with other changes suggested throughout this chapter (see especially section on "norms of relevant others") should produce better inter-racial understanding and should help to reduce ethnocentric thinking among students.

Two other student characteristics which were considered only at the individual level (not as a school average) also were related to inter-racial behavior. These characteristics are sex and year in school.

Black females were somewhat less likely than black males to score high on our measure of friendly inter-racial contact. The sex difference found among black students is consistent with the comments of a number of faculty members and administrators in the Indianapolis schools who described black females as generally experiencing more frustration than black males in the inter-racial situation. The result is also consistent with other studies (see Carithers, 1970) which have found more positive inter-racial contacts among male than among female students and which have suggested that certain features of inter-racial situations (e.g., the social valuing of athletic prowess among boys but the general acceptance of a white standard of female beauty) create greater social problems for black girls than for black boys. The results of our study indicate, again, that special attention needs to be paid to the problems of black girls in the inter-racial situation. Among the general techniques which may be useful is the encouragement of inter-racial activities which will give the black female the same chance for achievement and self-esteem which the black male is more likely to get in athletics.[6]

While black girls had less friendly contact with Whites than black boys had, boys of both races were more likely than girls to score high on our measure of unfriendly behavior toward the other race. However, this measure reflects mostly physical fighting and it is not surprising to find that boys had more physical fights than girls. This is true of fighting within racial groups as well as between races. Of more interest is the finding that white boys were more likely than white girls to try to avoid black students at times. This difference is probably related, at least in part, to the fact that white boys appeared to have been the group most afraid of being hit by other-race students.[7] To the extent that inter-racial avoidance, among white boys especially, is due to fear of the other race, the actions (such as those suggested throughout this chapter) aimed at reducing unfriendly behavior and increasing friendly behavior are likely also to reduce the relatively high level of inter-racial avoidance among white boys.

A student's year in school was also related to his inter-racial contacts. For both black and white students, the higher the school year, the more friendly inter-racial contact was reported. We believe, for reasons outlined in Chapter 6, that this result probably indicates that, during the student's four years in school, he gets to know better, like better, and become more friendly with students of the other race (as well as with students of his own race, probably). This may not mean necessarily that he becomes more friendly with all or even most other-race students. It may mean this or it may mean only that he becomes friendly with a small number of other-race students whom he finds most compatible and with whom he has most contact. The findings concerning differences in friendliness among school years is consistent with the data discussed above concerning the association between friendly inter-racial contacts in high school and having had inter-racial contact in grade school and neighborhood. Both sets of data suggest that longer periods of inter-racial contact will increase friendly interaction. It may be, in fact, that the greater inter-racial frictions which sometimes occur among Freshmen would be reduced if more of the students had greater inter-racial experience prior to coming to high school. Regardless of this possibility, the data also lead us to suggest that school administrators should try to facilitate the chances for students of both races to become better acquainted at an early stage in their school careers, under circumstances (e.g., cooperative activities of interest to both groups) which may be expected to promote friendly feeling.

Finally, the data indicate that students' inter-racial experiences may be affected by their academic orientations. For example, black students' participation in Academic programs seemed to diminish avoidance of Whites. Also, the more black students adhered to conventional school norms, the less they avoided white students. Black friendliness increased as black students' involvement in academically-oriented behaviors increased and as the percentage of Blacks winning school honors or prizes increased. Black unfriendliness increased as black students' "academic delinquency" increased, as the percentage of Blacks in Academic programs diminished, as Blacks' adherence to conventional school norms declined, and when black students' educational aspirations were lowest. White students' avoidance of and unfriendly contacts with black students were not systematically related to white students' academic orientations, but their friendly contacts with Blacks were associated with their academic inclinations. The more white students were enrolled in Academic programs and had been on school honor rolls, the more inter-racial friendliness white students reported.

These data suggest a connection between schools' academic and social responsibilities. Efforts to increase the academic motivations and aspirations of students may have benefits not only educationally but also in terms of the schools' inter-racial climates.[8]

The School Situation

In this section, we will consider evidence bearing on a number of aspects of the school situation as it may affect race relations. These findings bear on questions such as the following:

How are variations in the racial composition of the student body, and of the teaching staff, related to variations in relationships between the races?

How do differences in the amount of opportunity for inter-racial contact within the school relate to differences in inter-racial experiences?

To what extent are differences in race relations associated with differences in the conditions of inter-racial contact--such as the relative power, the compatibility of the goals, and the general similarity of the two racial groups?

What role, if any, do teachers and administrators seem to play with respect to the race relations in their schools?

Race Composition

Differences in the proportions of black and white students in a school did not, in general, have a large or consistent association with the types of race relations which occurred. However, a higher proportion of black students in a school (which in our sample of schools almost always meant greater racial integration) was generally associated with more positive inter-racial behaviors. Most notably, the higher the proportion of black students in a school, the more friendly contacts with Blacks were reported by white students. However, as the proportion of black students in a school rose, black students tended to have somewhat fewer friendly contacts with Whites. For both races, these results probably reflect the relative opportunities for within-race versus across-race contacts. As the proportion of black students increases, the opportunities for inter-racial contact increase for Whites and decrease somewhat for Blacks.

Avoidance of other-race students tended to occur most among that racial group which was in a distinct minority in a school. Among black students particularly, avoidance of the other race was less in schools where the proportion of Blacks was relatively large. As the proportion of black students increased, the amount of unfriendly behavior toward white students, as reported by Blacks, also decreased. It seems likely that both avoidance and unfriendly behavior by Blacks is in part a reaction to unease at being a minority and particularly a minority which is unwelcome by many in a school which is not "theirs."

Whereas a larger proportion of black students in a school was generally associated with improved race relations, large increases in the proportion of black students during the prior five-year period was associated with more inter-racial avoidance. In particular, the greater the recent increase in the proportion of black students in a school, the more the avoidance of Blacks by white students. However, greater recent change in racial proportions had almost no association with the amount of unfriendly behavior and was associated only slightly with a reduction in friendly contacts between the races. In general, these data confirm the observations of some school administrators that rapid increases in black enrollment tend to be accompanied by some strain in the relationship between the races, but they indicate that the problem is more typically one of avoidance by Whites than it is of inter-racial clashes. If fairly rapid changes in racial composition are to occur in a school, it seems especially important, therefore, to take action during this period to try to facilitate the process of acquaintance between students who may feel fearful, antagonistic, or just shy toward schoolmates who seem different from themselves.

With respect to racial proportions of the faculty, larger proportions of black teachers in a school was associated with less negative inter-racial behavior (avoidance and unfriendly actions) by black students--though this association was moderate. The relationship between black representation on the faculty and white student behavior was more mixed; a larger number of black teachers was associated with more friendly inter-racial contacts among white students, but a larger proportion of black teachers was associated with somewhat more negative behavior (avoidance, unfriendly behavior) by white students with respect to their black schoolmates. Looking at variations among individual students (where the effects of other factors were controlled), the amount of personal opportunity for contact with black faculty members was not associated significantly with inter-racial behavior by students of either race.

Overall, the data provide some indication that a larger number of black faculty members is associated with somewhat better race relations in the school, and particularly with less negative inter-racial behavior by black students. Since there tended to be a greater percentage of black staff members in those schools which also had larger proportions of black students, we cannot, with these data, separate the effects of the racial proportions of student body and staff. The picture that emerges, however, is that there is more friendly contact between the races and less negative behavior by Blacks as black students and black faculty become less of a small minority. The results concerning negative behavior by Blacks may indicate that, when Blacks are less of a minority, they feel less alienated from the school and from their white classmates. We will return below to further evidence bearing on the effects of alienation from the school when we consider the data on school loyalty.

Overall, these findings on racial composition indicate that when racial integration involves substantial numbers of black and white students, as well as teachers, it can have social benefits that cannot be achieved in less integrated school settings. The data do not indicate one particular racial composition which might maximize these social benefits at all schools; indeed, such a magical figure probably does not exist. Rather, school officials and concerned citizens should strive for a level of racial integration at each school which allows students and teachers of both races to feel that they are an integral part of the school and that their presence and interest are reflected in the school's academic and extra-curricular activities. The particular racial composition which helps to achieve these objectives probably will vary from school to school, depending on the school's history and the parents, students, and school personnel who are involved. In addition to the racial composition of the school, the feelings of belongingness which students have in a school will also be affected by other conditions in the school. These other conditions will be discussed in the sections below.

Opportunity for Contact

What effect do differences in opportunity for inter-racial contact in school have on inter-racial behavior? Although our measures of opportunity for contact have some limitations,[9] the data indicate that greater opportunity for contact was associated with more friendly inter-racial contact and was not associated at the same time with significantly more unfriendly behavior toward the other race. Both at the school level (especially for white students), and at the individual level, greater opportunity for classroom contact was associated with more friendly inter-racial contacts for students of both races. Opportunity for inter-racial contact outside the classroom (in the cafeteria, and at gym and hall lockers) generally had little association with inter-racial behavior at the school level but individuals of both races who reported greater opportunity for contact outside of class also reported more friendly inter-racial contacts. These results suggest that policies which maximize the opportunities for inter-racial contact, especially in the classroom, are likely to lead to improved relations between the races. Although other considerations may legitimately enter into decisions about assignment of pupils to classes, increasing the racial heterogeneity of classes and random assignment of seats and places in their classes may be expected to result, in general, in increased friendly contact between the races. Creation of increased opportunity for inter-racial contact in various school activities may also be expected to have the same good effect. (We will return to the subject of school activities below.) However, one should not expect increased opportunity for inter-racial contact always to lead to more friendly interaction. Whether the outcome of the contact will be positive or negative will depend in part on some of the home, neighborhood, and student characteristics already discussed, as well as on other features of the school situation to which we next turn our attention.

Conditions of Contact

Relationships between racial groups may be affected by the conditions under which contact occurs. Relevant conditions may include: (a) norms of others; (b) similarity between the racial groups; (c) relative power; (d) compatibility of goals; (e) participation in extra-curricular activities; and (f) other conditions of contact.

Norms of Relevant Others. The data show that students' behaviors toward schoolmates of the other race are strongly associated with their reports of the racial attitudes of students of their own race in their school. Differences in reported racial attitudes of peers are associated with differences in inter-racial behavior by individuals and with average differences among schools. Reported peer attitudes are related significantly to the amount of avoidance and of friendly contact by both white and black students and to the amount of unfriendly behavior by black students. These data do not necessarily show that peer norms "cause" a given type of inter-racial behavior. A student's peers may react in a similar way as he does, as a result of similar backgrounds and similar school experiences. Moreover, students may tend to exaggerate the extent to which the racial attitudes of their friends are similar to their own. Nevertheless, there is a large body of evidence concerning social behavior in general and race relations in particular (e.g., Sherif, 1936; Newcomb, Turner, and Converse, 1965; Chadwick, Bahr and Day, 1971; Warner and Defleur, 1969) which indicate that social behavior is influenced powerfully by the actual and perceived norms of the groups to which one belongs and/or values. The implication of our data, which are consistent with this principle, is that efforts to change prejudiced attitudes and behavior need to take into account the group context in which inter-racial behavior occurs. This may mean, for example, using techniques of carefully moderated group discussion (Lewin, 1965; Bennett, 1965), rather than lecturing or providing information to individuals. Another possible technique for trying to modify group norms is to enlist influential and prestigeful members of student groups in efforts to reduce inter-group friction. In addition to possible actions to influence norms among students who are already in high school, policies which promote positive inter-racial attitudes among students prior to high school (e.g., promotion of friendly inter-racial contacts in grade school) are likely to lead to more positive norms among high school students.

It is not only the norms of student peers which matter in the school situation. The data[10] show that the inter-racial behavior of both black and white students--and particularly avoidance and unfriendly actions--were associated significantly with the students' perceptions of the racial attitudes of teachers of their own race. The less students saw their same-race teachers as supporting the idea that they should be as friendly to other-race students as to their own race, the more likely they were to avoid other-race students and to act in an unfriendly way (i.e., get into fights or arguments) with them. We do not know the extent to which students' perceptions of teachers' attitudes are accurate and we cannot say that the teachers' attitudes, even as perceived, caused the student's behavior. Some students may have distorted their perception of teachers' attitudes to fit their own behavior. However, even if this is true to some extent, it seems significant that students care enough about their teachers' attitudes to have their own behavior consistent with the teachers' perceived attitudes. Thus, the data suggest that teachers' ideas about appropriate inter-racial behavior can affect the behavior of students--particularly those of their own race. Some teachers we interviewed were reluctant to pressure their students to be friendly with other-race schoolmates, expressing the view that such relationships should be allowed to develop without intervention by teachers. There probably is merit in the view that attempts to force friendly behavior in a heavy-handed fashion may often be unsuccessful. However, our findings suggest that some expressions by teachers--especially popular teachers--indicating their support of non-discriminatory, equalitarian, and friendly relationships between Blacks and Whites can be useful in influencing the behavior of their students, especially students of the teachers' own race.

Similarity Between the Races. To what extent are the relationships between black and white students in a school associated with greater or lesser similarity between the two racial groups? The data provide information about average differences between black and white students in each school with respect to home background, behavior in school, academic accomplishments, and aspirations.

With respect to differences in home background, the data show that relationships between black and white students were more positive in those schools where there was greater difference in the average reported education of black parents as compared to white parents. The greater the difference in average education of parents, the more friendly inter-racial contact was reported by white students (though not by black students), and the less unfriendly behavior was reported by students of both races. This result may reflect, at least in part, the fact that Whites of higher socio-economic status have usually been found to be less prejudiced toward Blacks than those of lower socio-economic status (Campbell, 1971).

But whereas greater differences in parents' education were associated with more positive race relations, greater average differences in the structure of students' families (i.e., whether both parents were present) were associated with more avoidance and more unfriendly behavior by Blacks. Unfriendly behavior by black students toward Whites was also more common in schools where there was greater difference between the races with respect to behavior in school. Specifically, black students were more likely to be involved in unfriendly interactions with Whites in schools where there were relatively large differences in: a) the amount of unfriendly interaction which occurred within each racial group; and b) the net amount of effort which students of each race directed toward academic goals (as indicated by time spent on homework, frequency of missing class without permission, etc.). Black students also avoided Whites somewhat more in schools where there were relatively large differences in the average educational aspirations of students of the two races.

Differences in the school status of Blacks and Whites--as indicated by the percentage of each group in the Academic program, on the honor roll, or having won some honor or prize--were not related appreciably to the quality of race relations in the school.

The results concerning perceptions of relative status are mixed and somewhat inconsistent. White students were more likely to report friendly contact with Blacks in schools where both races perceived both the academic and nonacademic (extra-curricular) status of white students to be relatively high, compared to black students. Individual white students were more likely to act in a negative way toward Blacks (avoidance and/or unfriendly behavior) when they saw the Blacks as low in academic or in socio-economic status, but were somewhat less likely to be unfriendly when they saw Blacks as low in nonacademic (extra-curricular) status.

Overall, the data concerning average differences between black and white students in a school suggest that problems are likely to arise not from differences in socio-economic status as such and not necessarily from overall differences in academic status within the school, but rather from differences in behavior and in educational goals. While it is not easy to reduce such differences, they are obviously more amenable to school actions than are differences in socio-economic status. There are a variety of possible methods which might be used to raise the academic interest and aspirations (and thus affect the behavior) of the less motivated students. Educators are better able than we to speak to the most promising methods, but we might mention as illustrations the modification of programs to make them more (obviously) relevant to the goals of students and the use of teaching methods which maximize participation and success experiences for students.

Relative Power. The data indicate that both black students and white students reported less negative inter-racial behavior in those schools where the actual and perceived power of their racial group was relatively high. Most notably, avoidance and unfriendly behavior among white students were more frequent, and friendly inter-racial contact among Whites was less frequent, in schools where the proportion of white student officers was relatively low. Also, in schools where students perceive the relative power of black students to be high (on an index based on a variety of types of influence in the school), black students respond more positively to Whites (less avoidance and more friendly contacts reported) while Whites behave more negatively toward Blacks (more avoidance, less friendly contact, and somewhat more unfriendly behavior).

The strong associations between the perceived relative power of each racial group and inter-racial avoidance, as found at the school level, are not duplicated in our analysis of variations among individual students, especially when other factors are held constant. However, the associations found at the school level suggest that students of both races are more likely to act in an outgoing, friendly, nondefensive way in schools in which they have, and perceive that they have, substantial influence in matters which concern students. These include such matters as getting the school to sponsor various programs, getting the Student Council to do things, and getting the principal to change something in the school.

The power of each racial group is likely to increase as its proportion of the total student body increases; thus, one way to facilitate substantial influence by both racial groups is to have relatively equal proportions of both races (though this may, under some circumstances, involve other problems, such as a competition for predominant power in the school and a possible exodus of white students from a school with a substantial percentage of Blacks). Aside from manipulating the proportions of black and white students, it seems important to adopt policies which provide both racial groups with a fair and ample opportunity for participation and influence. Such policies might include such measures as creation of widely representative student advisory and/or decision-making groups for each of several decision areas affecting students. Where usual election procedures would result in little representation for minorities, revised election procedures (such as choosing a number of winners in order of their total vote in a large "district," rather than one winner in each of smaller "districts") may be useful. The adverse reaction of many white students to what they perceive as relatively great power for Blacks (even though the objective power situation probably favors Whites in most schools) suggests also that the decision-making process by both student groups and administrators be as open as possible so that exaggerated perceptions of either race's influence on school affairs do not flourish.

Compatibility of Goals. It has often been proposed, with some supporting experimental and historical evidence (see Amir, 1969), that different ethnic and racial groups will get along better in situations where their goals are compatible rather than conflicting. The major direct evidence which we have on this issue concerns assessments students made about whether other-race students in their school made it harder or easier for them to achieve each of a number of personal goals. Our analysis of variations among individual students showed that, both among Blacks and Whites, the more that students saw other-race schoolmates as facilitating the achievement of their goals, the less avoidance, the more friendly inter-racial contact, and (for Blacks) the less unfriendly behavior they reported. Also, when variations among schools are examined, we find that avoidance was less frequent and friendly inter-racial contacts more frequent among white students in schools where students saw other-race schoolmates as facilitating rather than hindering achievement of their goals.

In addition, there was more friendly inter-racial contact reported by students, especially by Whites, in those schools where there was relatively widespread participation by both white and black students in inter-racial student groups which are attempting to foster change in the school. The causal direction of this association is unclear; participation in inter-racial change groups may lead to generally more favorable inter-racial contacts, or the reverse may be true, or the causal effect may go both ways. However, whatever the causal mechanisms operating, the data do show inter-racial friendliness more common in schools where students of both races are working together toward common goals. Together with the data concerning perceptions of goal compatibility (plus the data on participation in extra-curricular activities, discussed below), the results are generally consistent with the notion that race relations are more harmonious under conditions of actual and perceived common goals.

There is much that can be done in the schools to maximize and make more salient goals shared in common between the races and to minimize competition between the races. For example, common goals can be fostered by encouraging inter-racial groups to work on school and/or community problems; by encouraging more participation in racially integrated clubs and activities of a cooperative kind; by emphasizing school teams which can arouse the support of all students; and by cooperative class projects in which students of both races participate. Competition or incompatible goals between the races may be reduced by such means as de-emphasizing competitive marking procedures (i.e., marking on a "curve"); by using teaching procedures which do not neglect the needs of either the faster or the slower students while meeting the needs of the other; and by election and decision-making procedures for student groups which tend to encourage compromise and some share of "victory" for all sides.

Other Conditions of Contact. Several other conditions of inter-racial contact also were associated with inter-racial behavior. Looking both at variations among schools and among individuals, the more students perceived efforts by the school administration and by student groups to deal seriously with student suggestions and to try to solve racial and other problems, the less often black students avoided Whites. The implication of this finding seems straightforward. Serious efforts by administrators and student groups to work with concerned students to try to solve racial and other problems hold promise of payoffs in terms of more outgoing, less defensive kinds of student behavior, especially among Blacks.

The question of alleged favoritism by teachers and other school personnel, toward students of one race or the other, has received comment by people in our school interviews and elsewhere. The data show relatively little association between student perceptions of favoritism and inter-racial behavior. Among black students, differing perceptions of favoritism toward Whites had little relation to variations in behavior toward Whites, either among schools or among individuals; there is only a tendency toward greater avoidance of white schoolmates by Blacks in schools where Blacks see more favoritism toward Whites. Among white students, those individual students who saw more favoritism toward Blacks were somewhat more likely to be unfriendly toward Blacks. But there was no appreciable association between the average perception of favoritism among Whites in a school and average levels of inter-racial behavior by white students. Thus, while there is some indication that perceptions of favoritism toward the other race are linked with more negative behavior, this factor does not appear to be a major determinant of the kinds of race relations which occur.

The strictness of school discipline, as perceived by students, also had only a slight overall association with inter-racial behavior. In schools where students saw disciplinary procedures as relatively strict, there was a tendency for the average levels of negative behavior (avoidance and unfriendly acts) by white students toward Blacks to be low (and also for Whites to report fewer friendly contacts with Blacks). However, results for individual students were in a contrary direction. Those individual white students who viewed their school as most strict were somewhat more likely to act in an unfriendly way toward black schoolmates. The perceived strictness of a school's discipline was not related to the inter-racial behavior of black students, at either the school or individual level. Overall, these results concerning disciplinary strictness indicate that unfriendly inter-racial behavior, including fighting, is not a result of lax disciplinary procedures. While firm but fair disciplinary procedures are probably important, the answer to reducing inter-racial friction in the schools does not appear to lie in firmer discipline.

Participation in Extra-Curricular Activities. One of the factors which was most strongly and consistently related to friendly inter-racial contact was the extent of participation in clubs, teams, and other school activities. Looking at variations among individuals, we found that, both among black and among white students, the number of activities in which the student reported participating was one of the best predictors of the amount of friendly inter-racial contact he reported with schoolmates (more participation, more friendly contact). We found also that the higher the general school level of participation in activities by black students, the greater the average level of friendly contact with Blacks reported by Whites in that school.

There are probably a number of reasons for the strong link between participation in school activities and friendly inter-racial contact. First, those students who participate more in school activities may tend to have traits (being outgoing, loyal to the school, etc.) which would tend to make friendly inter-racial contact more likely. But, aside from the special characteristics which active participants may tend to have, there are several good reasons for thinking that participation in activities, will tend to lead to friendly inter-racial behavior. First, such participation is likely to increase the sheer opportunity for inter-racial contact. (This is only true, of course, when students of both races participate.) As we have seen above, greater opportunity for contact is, in itself, associated with more friendly interaction. Secondly, the conditions of inter-racial contact in a club, team, or other activity are likely to facilitate friendly behavior. Participants are likely to share common interests and there is evidence (Byrne, 1971) that people who are more similar will tend to like one another. Also, participants are likely to be working toward common goals and there is evidence both in the present study (see above) and from previous work (Sherif, and others, 1961; Amir, 1969) that work toward common goals can be a powerful stimulus toward friendliness.

We believe that encouragement of joint participation by black and white students in extra-curricular activities is one of the most feasible and most important steps which the schools can take to promote friendly relationships between the races. Further attempts might be made to interest and make welcome more students of both races in existing activities. Additional activity groups which would tend to be attractive to students of both races might be created. Any requirements for club membership (e.g., a high grade average) might be reevaluated. Such admission requirements may tend to discourage students of one race from participating and may bar those students who would benefit most from the experience. Finally, other schools might consider the innovation adopted in at least two schools (Schools 1 and 5) whereby many activities were conducted in the middle of the school day. Such a schedule would make such cooperative inter-racial activities a more integral part of the educational experience of all students.

Perceptions of Other Race and Emotions

We review next our findings concerning perceptions of the other race and student emotions.

To what extent are inter-racial behavior related to perceptions of other-race students as having pleasant personal traits? To perceptions of the physical toughness of other-race students? To perceptions of their academic excellence?

To what extent are given types of inter-racial behavior associated with anger toward, or fear of other-race students?

Is behavior toward schoolmates of another race related to feelings of loyalty toward the school?

Our major measure of perceptions of the other-race is based on student judgments about the proportion of other-race students of his own sex in his school who possess each of fourteen good or bad traits (e.g., are fun to be with, are friendly with students of his own race, act bossy with students of his own race). Variations in the proportion of other-race students who were judged to have good qualities were related strongly to variations in inter-racial behavior, both among individuals and among schools. For both black and white individuals, the greater the proportion of other-race students seen in a favorable light, the less avoidance of, the less unfriendly behavior toward, and the more friendly interaction with, students of the other race. Looking at variations among schools, the average perceptions of other-race students by students of each race, taken separately, have relatively small associations with inter-racial behavior, but the average perceptions of other-race students by the student body as a whole has more sizeable associations--most notably with the average amount of friendly inter-racial contact reported by students. These latter data indicate that a high level of friendly interaction between black and white students in a school requires favorable perceptions by both racial groups.

Unfavorable views of other-race students are often linked to anger. Frequent feelings of anger at other-race students are strongly related to the negative inter-racial behaviors of both races. Data concerning variations in behavior, both among individual students and among schools, are consistent in showing that the more often students of either race felt angry at other-race students, the more apt they were to avoid, and to act in an unfriendly way toward, students of that race. Moreover, the more the total frequency of anger directed at other-race students in the student body as a whole, the less friendly inter-racial contact was reported by students of either race. Clearly, the negative inter-racial behavior which occurs in the high school is not solely casual or a result of old habits or of following instructions from home. Such behavior is very often fueled by emotion of anger present in the school situation.

Several other aspects of perceptions of the other-race students were also examined for possible relationships to inter-racial behavior. The more that white students saw black schoolmates as physically tough (i.e., good fighters and not afraid of Whites), the better black-white relations tended to be. In addition, individual Whites who saw Blacks as tough were somewhat less likely to try to avoid

Blacks, and those schools in which students of both races saw black students as more tough, compared to Whites, had a greater amount of friendly contact between the races. The reason why perceptions by students (especially by Whites) that Blacks are physically tough should be associated with better race relations is not clear. This may be partly due to the fact that individual Whites who see Blacks as tough are less likely to act in an unfriendly way toward the Blacks. Another possibility is that in those situations where relatively friendly relationships exist for other reasons, closer acquaintance between the races gives students reason to conclude that the black students are, in general, more fearless, effective fighters. Also, it may be that the Whites who are relatively friendly with Blacks are more willing to acknowledge qualities of toughness, which are generally admired in our culture.

However, while admiration of the toughness of the other race may be consistent with good race relations, fear of the other race clearly is not. Among both black and white individuals, greater fear of possible attack by other-race students is associated both with greater avoidance of the other race and with more unfriendly interaction with the other race. Moreover, schools in which black students are most fearful of Whites are schools which tend to have a higher overall level of both avoidance and unfriendly behavior by Blacks, while in schools where the general level of fear is relatively high, the average amount of friendly inter-racial contact tends to be low.

Students were also asked to assess the proportion of other-race students in their school who "are smart in school" and the proportion who "try real hard to do well in school." Possible associations between such perceptions of academically-relevant traits and inter-racial behavior were assessed at the individual, but not at the school, level. Results showed that the greater the proportion of black students whom white students saw as smart in school, the more friendly inter-racial contacts the white students reported. Perceptions of the smartness of white students were not related to the inter-racial behavior of Blacks but the more that black students saw white schoolmates as trying hard in school, the less likely the Blacks were to be unfriendly with Whites. We do not know the extent to which positive perceptions of the academic traits of other-race students tends to lead to more friendly (or less unfriendly) behavior and to what extent the more friendly contact precedes the more favorable academic evaluation. Probably both occur to some degree.

What are the policy implications of our findings that inter-racial behavior is related to certain perceptions of, and emotions toward, other-race students? One possible approach is to try to improve communication between students of the two races so that those negative perceptions, angers, or fears which are based, in part, on misunderstanding or on a one-sided perspective may be modified. Thus, for example, students of each race may discover that behavior which they interpreted as indicating unfriendliness or arrogance was in fact a reaction to behavior of their own which was, perhaps unintentionally, offensive to the other group. Similarly, they may find that other-race schoolmates whom they perceive as hostile or threatening may be quite willing to respond in kind to friendly overtures. Interracial discussion groups under skilled guidance, may be helpful in getting students to understand better the feelings and viewpoint of the other race. Such discussion groups have been tried in at least one Indianapolis high school (School 6), apparently with some success, and the experience of that discussion program, and any similar ones, should be given close scrutiny as possible models. Other relevant school programs aimed at improving inter-racial understanding--e.g., drama programs written by a Human Relations group--may also be useful.

However, while efforts to improve communication between the races may be helpful, we believe that the more fundamental solution to the problem of improving race relations lies in modifying the types of experiences to which students are exposed, both in the high school and outside the school. This requires attention to many of the factors which we have already mentioned. More favorable attitudes toward the other race are likely to follow from more early inter-racial contact in the neighborhood, in the grade school, and elsewhere in the community. Within the high school, more favorable inter-racial attitudes are likely to follow greater opportunity for inter-racial contact (in class, and in extra-curricular activities especially) under the favorable conditions mentioned above (such as common goals rather than competition, and shared power in student decision-making). Out of such favorable inter-racial contacts, favorable attitudes will naturally grow.

Finally we may consider the role of loyalty to the school. We consider this emotion separately from those of anger and fear (and from perceptions of the other race) because the target of this emotion is the school, not other-race students. In general, the greater students' identification with their school (as assessed by whether they have done things such as wearing a school button or clothing with the school name on it), the more positive their relationships with students of the other race. This is particularly true of black students. The more that individual students, especially black students, show loyalty to their school, the more friendly contact they report with schoolmates of the other race. Also, looking at variations among schools, the more loyalty a school's students show, the less unfriendly behavior toward the other-race they report; again, this is particularly true for the black students in a school.

Why do students, especially Blacks, who identify more with their school, have more friendly relationships with students of the other race? While it is possible that the most loyal students have different personal characteristics than the less loyal students, our data show only weak associations between school loyalty and a variety of student characteristics, such as academic program, education of parents, racial ethnocentrism, and educational aspirations. It seems likely to us, on the basis of conversations with people in the Indianapolis schools, related evidence from this study,[11] and evidence from other studies (Gottlieb and TenHouten, 1965) that the association between school loyalty and good race relations reflects in substantial part a more positive, less defensive orientation toward other-race students by students who feel a real part of the school which they attend. Such a sense of belonging is particularly relevant in the case of black students who, because they are a minority in most schools and are looked down upon by many white students (and perhaps by some staff members as well) may feel that they are unwelcome aliens in a white school that is not really "theirs." Such feelings, when they exist, may be expected to lead to behavior which is defensive at least and perhaps unfriendly as well. As we have already suggested above, policies which would tend to increase students', and particularly black students', sense of identification with the school seem to be desirable. Such steps may include such diverse actions as having a substantial number of black staff members, increasing the opportunity for students of both races to participate in student decision-making groups and to be represented in prestigeful student positions, and encouraging and facilitating the participation of students of both races in a variety of extra-curricular activities.

Concluding Remarks

The results of this study show clearly that the types of race relations which occur in the high school are not random, capricious, or unpredictable. But the results also indicate that race relations cannot be explained in a simple way by pointing to one, or a very few, determinants, say, family influence, or social class composition, or the proportions of black and white students in a school. The behavior of students toward schoolmates of another race is the outcome of many factors--some bearing on students' experiences outside of school, some concerning the students' own characteristics, many concerning the school situation, and some concerning the perceptions by students of their other-race schoolmates and their feelings toward those schoolmates and toward the school.

Within each of these general sets of possible determinants, this study has specified the particular factors which seem to be most strongly associated with inter-racial behavior. Most or all of these specific factors can be influenced to a considerable extent by actions of those in the schools. Others call for cooperative action by schools and other community agencies. Such action can help to bring about inter-racial experiences which will be rewarding and beneficial to students.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter 1

1. To avoid unnecessary repetition we will present all literature references in the next section on Research Design.

2. The next section of this report includes a more detailed discussion of specific determinants examined in this study.

Chapter 2

1. Other types of inter-racial interaction also were included in the model. These other types include "seeking" behavior (i.e., behaviors which demonstrate a student's desire to initiate cross-racial contacts) and "dominant" contacts (i.e., those contacts which involve the domination of one party by the other). These types of behavior will be discussed to some extent in Part II, but they will not be included in later statistical analyses.

2. These sets of variables also were expected to have indirect effects on the dependent variables. For example, the school situation may affect the opportunities and/or conditions of contact which in turn may affect students' perceptions and emotions, which in turn may affect race relations. These indirect effects will be the subject of future analyses. The present report will be concerned only with the direct effects of our major independent variables.

3. It should be recognized that each cell contains several different kinds of variables which vary in their immediacy to the interaction experience. Therefore, the location of each cell in the model must be considered more approximate than precise or definitive.

4. The six general categories were: "Physical and Historical Characteristics," "Formal Social Structure," "Informal Social Structure," "Structure of the Academic Program," "Student-Administration Relations," and "Teacher/Counselor-Student Relations."

5. Data based on the teacher questionnaires (a long form and a short form were used) will be presented in future reports.

Chapter 3

1. Data on students' programs (Table 3-3) are based on reports of student sample. Only juniors and seniors were formally enrolled

in a program. Freshmen and sophomores were classified as pursuing a program on the basis of the kind of courses they planned to take.

Chapter 4

1. These particular questions were not asked of Whites at School 1, where the number of black students was very small.

Chapter 5

1. We will use the word "significant" in reference to those factors which have coefficients greater than or equal to .50. We are not using the term "significant" in its stricter statistical sense. With Ns of 10 or 11, which are the Ns for most of our school correlations, correlations of .58 or .55 (respectively) are statistically significant at the .05 level. However, since we are not trying to assess relationships in a larger set of schools on the basis of a random sample of schools from a larger set, tests of significance are not appropriate.

2. Student power was measured in terms of each race's representation on the Student Council and in class offices.

Chapter 6

1. In each case of these cases, there was so little inter-racial interaction that many questions on this topic were not asked.

2. The square of the correlation coefficient (r^2) indicates the proportion of variance in the dependent variable which can be accounted for statistically by a single predictor alone.

3. Our present analysis does not distinguish the direct effects of a predictor on a dependent variable from its indirect effects--i.e., those that occur through intervening variables. We plan to distinguish these two types of effects in later analyses.

4. Any division of a great many variables into a limited number of sets according to causal priority is bound to be somewhat arbitrary. Some variables in these three sets are not causally related across the sets and there may be some causal relationships within each of the sets. However, we believe that these results are more meaningful than those which would be obtained by simply grouping all predictors together.

5. The reader will note that the amount of variance explained by all three sets of predictors together is not the sum of the variance

explained by each of the sets separately. This is because the predictors in each set are not completely independent of each other and "share" in explaining some of the variance in the dependent variable.

6. The amount of friendly inter-racial contact in grade school correlates with avoidance of the other race in present high school -.16 for Blacks and -.13 for Whites; this same measure of grade school contact correlates with friendly inter-racial contact in present high school .18 for Blacks and .28 for Whites. These correlations are all significant at beyond the .001 level. The measure of friendly inter-racial interaction at another high school has very similar correlations with the measures of inter-racial behavior in the present high school.

7. It is also possible that there were consistent uncontrolled-for differences among the cohorts represented by the several classes, but we have no reason to believe this to be true. The only relevant difference of which we are aware--larger proportions of Blacks in the lower classes--would lead to more inter-racial contact which, as noted below, is associated with more friendly contact.

8. The specific variables which we judged to reflect primarily nonschool or primarily school factors are listed in the notes to Table 6-11.

9. Variables which we judged to be in the "mixed" set, probably reflecting both school and nonschool factors, include: satisfaction with life circumstances; year in school; perceptions of other race students (goodness, toughness, trying in school, smartness); school loyalty; unfriendly contacts with same-race students; racial ethnocentrism; sympathy with black demands (Whites); reluctance to use power tactics (Blacks); anger at other race; and fear of other race.

10. The analysis of school and nonschool factors is related to the recent discussions of which set has the most effect on students' performance in school (see Coleman et al.,1966 and Jencks, 1972).

11. The data concerning unfriendly behavior must be interpreted cautiously since almost half of the variance in unfriendly behavior is accounted for by factors (primarily by unfriendly relations with same-race students) not included in either the school or nonschool sets of factors.

12. We made extensive checks for questionnaires where there was excessive inconsistency of answers and/or excessive uniformity of answers ("bloc answers") and/or an excessive number of unusual (and thus unlikely) answers. Questionnaires which showed a clear pattern of random or capricious answers were discarded. More

black than white questionnaires were discarded during this process. While these procedures eliminated much of the error which resulted from faulty completion of the questionnaire by students, undoubtedly some error from this source still remains.

13. Measurement error includes error in the extent to which our questions accurately tap a given phenomenon, in the extent to which students respond accurately to our questions, and in the way responses are scored and weighted.

Chapter 7

1. We plan, in later work, to carry out more complex analyses which investigate possible interaction effects and which determine the extent to which the data fit possible models of causal networks among the variables.

2. Our data have nothing to do with many of the issues that are involved in the busing issue. And, although our study will yield data on the relationship between busing and students' academic performance, these data are not available yet. These data will be discussed in later reports based on this study.

3. Some short run avoidance and unfriendliness probably is quite "natural" given the facts that (a) some adjustments are necessary in any new situation and that (b) the adjustments required among black and white students occur in the context of heated debate and some racial hostilities in the larger community. See O'Reilly (1966: 165-167) for data indicating that schools integrated for longer times have less racial tension.

4. The data suggest that at least some of these beliefs are learned by students at home and in other non-school settings. Higher scores on ethnocentrism are associated with more negative opinions of the other race prior to high school; $r = -.39$, $p < .001$ for white students and $-.21$ ($p < .001$) for black students.

5. Opinion of the other race prior to high school was correlated .38 ($p < .001$) with amount of friendly inter-racial contact outside of high school, both for Whites and for Blacks (computed separately); racial ethnocentrism was correlated with amount of friendly contact outside high school $-.30$ ($p < .001$) for Whites and $-.14$ ($p < .001$) for Blacks.

6. We do not mean to suggest that black males have all the necessary means for achievement and self-esteem. Varsity and junior-varsity athletic programs involve relatively few black males. School personnel should evaluate existing programs also in terms of the extent to which the majority of black males (and of white students as well) are able to achieve goals of which they can be proud.

7. Among all white boys, 27 percent said they never thought about (the possibility of) being hit or attacked by other-race students and 21 percent thought of this fairly often or very often; among all black boys, 64 percent said they never thought about this and 13 percent thought of it fairly or very often. At School 5, the only school where responses were tabulated separately for boys and girls, 56 percent of the white boys, as compared to 44 percent of the white girls, said that they thought more often than "once in a while" about the possibility of being hit by black students.

8. Some of the relationship between academic orientations and inter-racial behavior may reflect selective recruitment patterns to various schools in the city. However, the consistency of the data suggests that this pattern can not be explained entirely in terms of this factor.

9. We asked each student, "In how many of your classes this semester do you have a seat or work place right next to one or more (other race) students?" Similarly, the student was asked whether his regular seat or place in the home room, cafeteria, gym locker, etc. was right next to any (other race) student(s). In some instances, particularly for the cafeteria, some students may have selected a seat based in part on desire to avoid, or be close to, other-race students. However, in most classes, and for most lockers, seats or places were assigned. Moreover, even where seats were self-chosen, the proportion of other-race students present would affect the probability that one or more other-race students would be close to the respondent.

10. The association between perception of teacher norms and student's inter-racial behavior was examined only at the individual level.

11. In schools where many students preferred another school prior to coming to their present high school, there were less positive race relations. This finding is consistent with the interpretation that it is primarily feelings about the school, rather than special personal traits, which accounts for the better race relations of students who show loyalty to the school.

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APPENDIX A

WHITE STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

PURDUE UNIVERSITY

Study of Indianapolis High Schools

Part I

You and some other students in this school have been asked to join in a study of the Indianapolis high schools which is being conducted by Purdue University. This study is being done to learn more about students' experiences and opinions.

We drew your names in a way that would provide a representative sampling of students in this school. Your participation, which is voluntary, is very important in order to give a true picture of the experiences and opinions of students in this school. This part of the study asks about things like your courses, your teachers, the school, and your plans for the future.

When we leave here today, we will take the questionnaires back to Purdue. Only the people from Purdue who are doing the study will ever see your answers. The study will show the answers that large groups of students (like all Sophomores at this school) have given, but not those that any single person has given.

This is not a test, so there are no right or wrong answers to most questions. We are interested in your personal opinions and experiences.

Please work at your own speed. If any of the questions or answers don't seem to apply to you, please answer as best you can and write in any explanation which you think will help us to understand your answer. (You need not pay attention to the numbers in the margins; these are to help count the answers.)

Please answer the questions as carefully and as truthfully as you can. In this way, you can help give a true picture of the experiences and opinions of students in this school.

We'd like to begin by asking some questions about your courses and about the school.

1. First, please check the school that you now attend.

(Check one)

01:13-14)
01. ( ) Arlington
02. ( ) Arsenal Tech
03. ( ) Attucks: Main Campus
04. ( ) Attucks: Cold Spring Campus
05. ( ) Broad Ripple
06. ( ) Emmerich Manual
07. ( ) Howe
08. ( ) Marshall
09. ( ) Northwest
10. ( ) Shortridge
11. ( ) Washington
12. ( ) Wood

2. You may not have had a choice, but how did you feel about coming to this particular high school just before you came here?

(Check one)

01:15)
1. ( ) I preferred this school
2. ( ) I didn't really care which high school I went to
3. ( ) I didn't mind too much going here, but I preferred another school (which one(s)?

____

4. ( ) I didn't want to come here at all and definitely preferred another school (which one(s)?

____

3. In what year are you in school?

(Check one and go to question indicated)

:16)
1. Freshman ( ) --------> please go to question #4 on the next page
2. Sophomore ( ) --------> please go to question #5 on the next page
3. Junior ( ) --------> please go to question #6 on page 3
4. Senior ( ) --------> please go to question #6 on page 3

4. FOR FRESHMEN ONLY:

How would you describe the kinds of courses you plan to take during the rest of your time in high school?

(Check one)

(01:17)
1. ( ) I won't be here after this year
2. ( ) "vocational-type" courses especially
3. ( ) "fine and practical arts-type" courses especially
4. ( ) "general" courses
5. ( ) "academic-type" courses especially
8. ( ) I don't know yet what I'll be taking

5. FOR SOPHOMORES ONLY:

a. Which diploma program were you in when you first came to this high school?

(Check one)

(01:18)
1. ( ) vocational
2. ( ) general
3. ( ) fine and practical arts
4. ( ) academic

b. How would you describe the kinds of courses you plan to take during the rest of your time in high school?

(Check one)

(01:19)
1. ( ) I don't plan to be in school after this year
2. ( ) "vocational-type" courses especially
3. ( ) "fine and practical arts-type" courses especially
4. ( ) "general" courses
5. ( ) "academic-type" courses especially
8. ( ) I don't know yet what I'll be taking

6. FOR JUNIORS AND SENIORS ONLY

a. Which diploma program were you in when you first came to this high school?

(Check one)

(01:20)

1. ( ) vocational
2. ( ) general
3. ( ) fine and practical arts
4. ( ) academic

b. What program are you in right now?

(Check one)

(01:21)

1. ( ) vocational
2. ( ) general
3. ( ) fine and practical arts
4. ( ) academic

c. Do you plan to stay in the same program next year?

(Check one)

(01:22)

1. ( ) I don't plan to be in school next year
2. ( ) I plan to stay in the same program
3. ( ) I plan to switch to:

____
(Please write in name of program)

8. ( ) I don't know

7. We would like to know some things about the courses you are taking this semester. Please fill in all the information about each course.

		Title of Course and Course Number (e.g., English 3)	Teacher's Name	Grade you got last marking period
(01:23-26)	1st period			
(01:27-30)	2nd period			
(01:31-34)				
(01:35-38)	3rd period			
(01:39-42)				
(01:43-46)	4th period			
(01:47-50)	5th period			
(01:51-54)	6th period			
(01:55-58)	7th period			
(01:59-62)	8th period			
(01:63-66)	9th period			
(01:67-70)	10th period			

8. Are you taking any courses at some other high school in Indianapolis this semester?

(Check one)

(01:71) 1. ( ) No
2. ( ) Yes

→ 8a. At what school?

(01:72-73) ______________________________
(Please write in)

9. Are you in a "work-study" program where you get school credit(s) for working part-time on a job?

(Check one)

(02:13) 1. ( ) No
2. ( ) Yes

10. In general, how do your grades in high school compare with the grades you got while in grade school?

(02:14) (Check one)

1. ( ) a lot worse than in grade school
2. ( ) a little worse
3. ( ) about the same
4. ( ) a little better
5. ( ) much better than in grade school

11. How many of the teachers that you have had in this school fit each of the following descriptions?

(Check one box in each row across)

		1. all my teachers	2. most	3. about half	4. a few	5. one or two	6. none of my teachers
(02:15)	understand students like me	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(02:16)	are willing to help me if I need help	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(02:17)	don't treat me with respect	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(02:18)	explain things so they are clear to me	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(02:19	are often mean to students like me	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(02:20)	have given me a grade below what I deserved	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(02:21)	are too strict in class	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(02:22)	have shown an interest in me	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(02:23)	give too much homework	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(02:24)	make class interesting	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(02:25)	let some students get away with too much in class	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(02:26)	usually bawl you out if you do something wrong	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(02:27)	usually praise you when you do something well	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

12. How many teachers that you've had in high school have been black?

02:28) (Check one)

1. ( ) none
2. ( ) 1 or 2
3. ( ) 3 to 5
4. ( ) 6 to 10
5. ( ) more than 10

13. Have you had any other black persons as a counselor, coach, or sponsor of a high school group you belonged to?

02:29) (Check one)

1. ( ) none
2. ( ) 1 or 2
3. ( ) 3 to 5
4. ( ) more than 5

14. In how many of your classes this semester (including gym) have students ever been divided into teams or small groups of students who work together?

02:30) (Check one)

1. ( ) no class (Go on to question #15)
2. ( ) one class
3. ( ) two classes
4. ( ) three or more classes

14a. In how many of these classes have any black students been in the same group as you?

02:31) (Check one)

1. ( ) no class
2. ( ) one class
3. ( ) two classes
4. ( ) three or more classes

15. How much do your teachers allow you to talk with other students in each of the following places:

(Check one box in each row across)

		1. not at all	2. every now and then	3. quite a bit	4. most of the time	0. I don't have any
(02:32)	In most of my classes	( )	( )	( )	( )	[illegible]
(02:33)	In my homeroom	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(02:34)	In study halls	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

16. In how many of your classes this semester does time seem to drag for you?

(02:35) (Check one)

1. ( ) in all my classes
2. ( ) in most of my classes
3. ( ) in about half of my classes
4. ( ) in one or two of my classes
5. ( ) in none of my classes

17. On the average, about how much time a day do you spend doing homework, including both in school and after school?

(02:36) (Check one)

1. ( ) less than 1/2 hour
2. ( ) about 1/2 hour
3. ( ) about 1 hour
4. ( ) about 1½ hours
5. ( ) about 2 hours
6. ( ) about 3 hours or more

18. How well do you like each of the following people in this school?

(Check one box in each row across)

		1. Like very much	2. Like pretty much	3. Don't especially like but don't dislike	4. Dislike slightly	5. Dislike very much	8. Not enough contact to say
(02:37)	The school principal	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(02:38)	The dean of boys	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(02:39)	The dean of girls	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(02:40)	Most of the black teachers who I know	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(02:41)	Most of the white teachers who I know	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(02:42)	Most of the black students	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(02:43)	Most of the white students	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

19. Here are some things that can happen to students for one reason or another. How often has each of these things happened to you this semester?

(Check one box in each row across)

		1. almost every day	2. most days	3. once or twice a week	4. once every few weeks	5. once a month	6. once or twice the whole semester	7. never
(02:44)	Being late to class	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(02:45)	Being absent from school	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(02:46)	Not getting all your homework done	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(02:47)	Being told to come for a conference because you supposedly did something wrong	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(02:48)	Missing a class without permission	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

20. How satisfied are you, in general, with each of the following:

(Check one box in each row across)

		1. very satisfied	2. satisfied	3. not too satisfied	4. not satisfied at all
02:49)	The courses I am taking now	( )	( )	( )	( )
02:50)	The amount of fun I have away from school	( )	( )	( )	( )
02:51)	The grades I am getting in school	( )	( )	( )	( )
02:52)	The amount of money I have to spend	( )	( )	( )	( )
02:53)	How I get along with other kids	( )	( )	( )	( )
02:54)	My chances for getting to be "someone" in life	( )	( )	( )	( )
02:55)	The way things are at home	( )	( )	( )	( )
02:56)	How popular I am with the opposite sex	( )	( )	( )	( )
02:57)	The teachers I have this semester	( )	( )	( )	( )

The next few questions concern school groups or activities which are sponsored by this high school. Please read each question and tell us if you have belonged to a group like this in this school.

21. Have you ever been a member of an athletic team in this school?

(Check one)

(02: 58) 1. ( ) Never ⟶ (please go on to question 22)

2. ( ) Yes

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(Check one for each team)

When?
(Check one for each team)

	Name of Sport (Please write in)	intra-mural	freshman	junior-varsity	varsity	other (write in)	1. Before this year and this year	2. this year only	3. Before this year but not this year
(02:59-61)		( )	( )	( )	( )		( )	( )	( )
(02:62-64)		( )	( )	( )	( )		( )	( )	( )
(02:65-67)		( )	( )	( )	( )		( )	( )	( )
(02:68-70)		( )	( )	( )	( )		( )	( )	( )
(02:71-73)		( )	( )	( )	( )		( )	( )	( )
(03:13-15)		( )	( )	( )	( )		( )	( )	( )

(03:16) ☐

22. Have you ever been a member of a school musical group?

(Check one)

(03:17) 1. ( ) Never ⟶ (please go on to question 23)

2. ( ) Yes

Which one(s)? When?

	(Please write in--for example, mixed chorus, marching band, and so on.)	(Check one for each group)		
		1. Before this year and this year	2. This year only	3. Before this year but not this year
(03:18-20)	____________	( )	( )	( )
(03:21-23)	____________	( )	( )	( )
(03:24-26)	____________	( )	( )	( )

(03:27) ☐

23. Have you ever worked on a school publication?

(Check one)

03:28) 1. ( ) Never ⟶ (please go on to question 24)

2. ( ) Yes

Which one(s)? When?

	(Please write in)	(Check one for each publication)		
		1. Before this year and this year	2. This year only	3. Before this year but not this year
03:29-30)	____________	( )	( )	( )
03:31-32)	____________	( )	( )	( )
03:33-34)	____________	( )	( )	( )

03:35) ☐

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24. Have you ever been a member of any other school club, team, activity or group?

(Check one)

(03:36) 1. ☐ No ⟶ (please go on to question 25)

2. ☐ Yes

Which one(s)? When?

	(Please write in)	(Check one for each group) 1. Before this year and this year	2. This year only	3. Before this year but not this year
(03:37-39)	______________	☐	☐	☐
(03:40-42)	______________	☐	☐	☐
(03:43-45)	______________	☐	☐	☐
(03:46-48)	______________			

(03:49) ☐

25. Have you ever represented this school in something other than athletics?

(Check one)

(03:50) 1. ☐ No ⟶ (please go on to question 26)

2. ☐ Yes

In What? When?

	(Please write in)	(Check one for each thing) 1. Before this year and this year	2. This year only	3. Before this year but not this year
(03:51-53)	______________	☐	☐	☐
(03:54-56)	______________	☐	☐	☐
(03:57-59)	______________	☐	☐	☐

(03:60) ☐

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26. If you are one of the leaders (officer, captain, editor, and so on) of any of the groups you named in questions 21. through 25., please go back and put an "X" just to the right of the name of that group.

27. Have any of the things listed below ever applied to you while you've been a student in this school?

(Check one box in each row across)

		1. Never	2. Before this year and this year	3. This year only	4. Before this year but not this year
(03:61)	A member of R.O.T.C.	☐	☐	☐	☐
(03:62)	A hall monitor	☐	☐	☐	☐
(03:63)	Acted in a school play or spoke in an auditorium program	☐	☐	☐	☐
(03:64)	Did office or messenger work for the school	☐	☐	☐	☐
(03:65)	An officer of the school or of my class	☐	☐	☐	☐
(03:66)	Ran for school or class office but was not elected	☐	☐	☐	☐
(03:67)	A member of a human relations group (or attended meetings regularly)	☐	☐	☐	☐
(03:68)	Was on the honor roll	☐	☐	☐	☐
(03:69)	Won some other honor or prize or election in school (please write in what this was)	☐			
(03:70)	a. ____________________		☐	☐	☐
(03:71)	b. ____________________		☐	☐	☐
(03:72)	Tried out or applied for a school team or other school group but didn't become a member (please write in which one(s))	☐			
03:73)	a. ____________________		☐	☐	☐
03:74)	b. ____________________		☐	☐	☐
03:75)	c. ____________________		☐	☐	☐
03:76)	Felt I qualified for some school honor or award but was not selected (please write in which one(s))	☐			
03:77)	a. ____________________		☐	☐	☐
03:78)	b. ____________________		☐	☐	☐

28. Now we have a few questions about your friends. First, please write down the first initials of the five people you are most friendly with. Then, check the box which shows how much schooling each person has so far.

(Check one box in each row across)

	First Initials ↓	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
		Goes to this high school	Goes to another high school	Left high school before finishing	Still in grade school (8th grade or below)	Finished high school and has not gone on to some other school	Finished high school and has gone to	
							college	school other than college
(04:13)	a.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(04:14)	b.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(04:15)	c.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(04:16)	d.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(04:17)	e.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

29. Now please write down in the top row the first initials of the same five friends you listed on the previous page. Then, for each of these friends, check the descriptions that seem to fit best.

Please write down the first initials in boxes a to e just below.

			(04:18-22)	(04:23-27)	(04:28-32)	(04:33-37)	(04:38-42)
			a.	b.	c.	d.	e.
(check one for each friend)	Is male	1.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
	Is female	2.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(check one for each friend)	Is black	1.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
	Is white	2.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
	Other ______ (please write in)	3.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(check one for each friend)	Does not try too hard to do well in school	1.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
	Tries pretty hard, but not too hard, to do well	2.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
	Tries real hard to do well in school	3.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
	I don't know	8.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
	It doesn't apply	0.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(check one for each friend)	Gets fairly low grades	1.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
	Gets average grades	2.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
	Gets very good grades	3.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
	I don't know	8.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
	It doesn't apply	0.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(check one for each friend)	Will probably leave high school before finishing	1.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
	Will probably finish high school but not go to college	2.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
	Will probably go to college	3.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
	I don't know	8.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
	It doesn't apply	0.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑

Please look up each column to make sure that you have 5 check marks for each friend

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30. Do you belong to any group, or club, or organization (one which has a name) which is not sponsored by the school but which is made up mostly of students from this school?

(Check one)

(04:43) 1. ( ) No ------------------> Please go to question 31 on the next page.

2. ( ) Yes

→ 30a. Please keep in mind the group in which you are most active. Then, check the answers that show what kind of group it is and the people who belong to it.

Check all that apply (04:44-53)	Check one (04:54)	Check one (04:55)
This group:	This group is made up of:	This group is made up of:
01. ( ) is social	1. ( ) my own sex only	1. ( ) black people only
02. ( ) is athletic	2. ( ) both sexes	2. ( ) both white and black people
03. ( ) is a hobby group		3. ( ) white people only
04. ( ) is church-connected		4. ( ) other: ____________ (write in)
05. ( ) does service for the community		
06. ( ) defends ourselves against others		
07. ( ) works to improve society		
08. ( ) other (write in) ____________ ____________		

31. Is there any informal group of friends (a group without a name) with whom you hang around a lot, or with whom you do things pretty often?

(Check one)

(04:56) 1. ( ) No → (please go to question 32 on the next page)

2. ( ) Yes

31a. What kind of people are in the group you spend most time with?

(Check one)

(04:57) 1. ( ) all or most go to this school

2. ( ) about half go to this school

3. ( ) all or most don't go to this school

(Check one)

(04:58) 1. ( ) my own sex only

2. ( ) both sexes

(Check one)

(04:59) 1. ( ) black kids only

2. ( ) both Whites and Blacks

3. ( ) white kids only

4. ( ) other (write in) ______________

The next few questions concern your thoughts about your future.

32. How far would you like to go in school?

I would like to :

(Check one)

(04:60) 1. ( ) leave high school before finishing
2. ( ) finish high school but I don't want any more school after tha
3. ( ) go to a vocational, technical or business school after high school
4. ( ) go to a junior or community college
5. ( ) go to a 4 year college
6. ( ) go to a graduate or professional school after finishing colle (like law school)

33. Sometimes there are problems that prevent people from going as far in school as they would like. How good would you say your chances are to go as far in school as you would like?

I would guess that my chances are:

(Check one)

(04:61) 1. ( ) very good → Go to question 35 on this page
2. ( ) pretty good
3. ( ) about 50-50
4. ( ) not very good
5. ( ) I'm pretty sure I won't be able to go as far as I'd like

34. How far will you most likely go in your schooling?

(Check one)

(04:62) 1. ( ) leave high school before finishing
2. ( ) finish high school (but not go further)
3. ( ) go to vocational, technical or business school after high school
4. ( ) go to a two-year junior or community college
5. ( ) go to a four-year college
6. ( ) do graduate or professional work after finishing college

35. How clear an idea do you have right now of what kind of work you would really like to do in your later life?

(Check one)

(04:63) 1. ( ) I know what I would like to do
2. ( ) I have a fairly good idea of what I would like to do
3. ( ) I have thought about several things, but have not decided
8. ( ) I have no idea what I would like to do

(If no idea, please go to question 38)

36. What kind(s) of work do you have in mind?

(Please write in)

(04:64) 1st choice ______________________________

(04:65) 2nd choice ______________________________

37. What do you think your chances are of getting the kind of job you mentioned first in question 36?

(Check one)

(04:66)
1. ☐ I am pretty sure I can get this kind of job
2. ☐ I can probably get this kind of job
3. ☐ My chances aren't too good, but there's some chance
4. ☐ I have very little chance of getting it
8. ☐ I don't know what my chances are

This last set of questions is about your school.

38. How strict would you say this school is in each of the following ways:

(Check one box in each row across)

		1. strict	2. pretty strict	3. not strict but not lenient	4. pretty lenient or easy	5. very lenient or easy
(04:67)	The kinds of rules it has	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(04:68)	Trying to catch students who break rules	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(04:69)	The punishments given to students who break rules	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

39. Do you feel that students should, or should not, do each of the following things in school?

(Check one box in each row across)

		1. I think students should do that	2. It doesn't matter much to me whether they do that	3. I think students should not do that
(04:70)	Obey all school rules whether they agree with them or not	☐	☐	☐
(04:71)	Pay attention in class even if things are boring for them	☐	☐	☐
(04:72)	Have a little fun in the school building(s) even if it means being noisy at times	☐	☐	☐
(04:73)	Show respect to every teacher no matter how they feel about that teacher	☐	☐	☐
(05:13)	Use swear words if they feel like it	☐	☐	☐
(05:14)	Strike someone if that person does or says something bad to them	☐	☐	☐
(05:15)	Take part in school activities	☐	☐	☐

40. Have you ever been a member of a group of students who tried to get something added to the school program or get the school to make some change you wanted?

(Check one)

(05:16)
1. ☐ no
2. ☐ yes -----> 40a.

40a. Who were the other students in the group?

(Check one)

(05:17)
1. ☐ all black students
2. ☐ some black students and some white students
3. ☐ all white students
4. ☐ other (please write in)

____

41. If students like yourself want to make a suggestion about changing something in the school, how hard is it for them to get the school (principal, vice-principals, etc.) to listen to their ideas?

(Check one)

(05:18)
1. ( ) almost always hard
2. ( ) usually hard
3. ( ) sometimes hard
4. ( ) rarely or never hard
8. ( ) I don't know

42. When students like yourself have a suggestion about changing something in this school, how often does the school (principal, vice-principals, etc.) try to do something about the suggestion?

(Check one)

05:19)
1. ( ) almost always
2. ( ) usually
3. ( ) sometimes
4. ( ) once in a while
5. ( ) rarely or never
8. ( ) I don't know

43. How much does the student council or other student groups do to solve any problems that come up between white and black students in this school?

(Check one)

05:20)
1. ( ) a lot
2. ( ) some
3. ( ) only a little
4. ( ) hardly anything at all
8. ( ) I don't know what they do
0. ( ) there are no such problems that I know of

44. How many of the following school events have you attended this year.

(Check one box in each row across)

		1. none	2. 1 or 2	3. 3 to 5	4. 6 or more
5:21)	A school game	( )	( )	( )	( )
5:22)	A pep or yell rally	( )	( )	( )	( )
5:23)	A play or musical event	( )	( )	( )	( )
5:24)	A dance, school party, or other school social event	( )	( )	( )	( )

45. How much do you usually care about whether this school wins against other schools--like in football or basketball or other kinds of competition?

(Check one)

(05:25)
1. ( ) I care a whole lot
2. ( ) I care quite a bit
3. ( ) I care some but not a great deal
4. ( ) I don't care too much
5. ( ) I don't care at all

46. Have you done any of the following things this year?

(Check one in each row across)

		1. Yes	2. No
(05:26)	Worn or ordered a school ring	( )	( )
(05:27)	Worn some clothing with the school name on it	( )	( )
(05:28)	Worn a school button	( )	( )
(05:29)	Had a school sticker or banner somewhere (home, car, etc.)	( )	( )
(05:30)	Bought a school yearbook	( )	( )

47. How much of what's in the school newspaper do you usually read?

(Check one)

(05:31)
1. ( ) all or almost all
2. ( ) most of it
3. ( ) about half of it
4. ( ) a few things but less than half
5. ( ) very little or nothing

48. How much does the school newspaper (including features, letters, editorials) express the ideas of students like yourself?

(Check one)

(05:32)
1. ( ) a lot
2. ( ) some
3. ( ) a little
4. ( ) not at all
8. ( ) I don't know

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Thank you for taking the time to answer these questions. We hope you found most of them interesting.

Before you turn in your booklet, please go back and make sure you have answered all the questions. Also, if you have any other comments concerning the things we've asked about, please write your comments on this page.

PURDUE UNIVERSITY

Study of Indianapolis High Schools

Part 2

This booklet contains the last set of questions we want to ask you about your school. The questions in this part deal mostly with the ways students in this school get along with each other. Before you begin, let us point out a few things that will help you as you go along.

If we are to understand your school better, we must know what students like yourself are thinking. Therefore, your participation, which is voluntary, is very important.

Most of the questions ask for your own experiences and opinions and not for right or wrong answers. This is not a test.

Your personal answers will never be shown to anyone for any reason. The study will show the answers that large groups of students (like Sophomores at the school) have given.

If any of the questions or answers don't seem to apply to you, please answer as best you can and write in any explanation you think will help us to understand your answer. You may consider question 9, 10, 11, 40, 41, and 43 to be optional.

Down the left side of each page you will see some numbers in brackets. Don't pay any attention to these numbers. They are to help us count your answers.

We hope you wil tell us about the way things really are here, not the way you might like them to be. Please be as frank and honest as you can be in your answers. In that way the study will give a true picture of the experiences and opinions of students in this school

The first few questions deal with your neighborhood and some of the people you might have known before you came to this school.

1. On most days, how do you get to school in the morning?

(06:13) (Check one)

1. ( ) I usually walk
2. ( ) I usually ride in a car
3. ( ) I usually take a city bus
4. ( ) I usually take a school bus
5. ( ) Other (write in)

____

2. Are the students who go to school the same way you usually do and by the same route:

(06:14) (Check one)

1. ( ) all or almost all Blacks
2. ( ) mostly Blacks but some Whites
3. ( ) about half Blacks and half Whites
4. ( ) mostly Whites but some Blacks
5. ( ) all or almost all Whites
0. ( ) don't come into contact with other kids on the way to or from school

3. About how long does it usually take you to get to school from where you live?

(06:15) (Check one)

1. ( ) less than 10 minutes
2. ( ) about 10 minutes
3. ( ) about 15 minutes
4. ( ) about 20 minutes
5. ( ) between 20 minutes and a half hour
6. ( ) between a half hour and 45 minutes
7. ( ) more than 45 minutes

4. About how many black families live within two blocks of your home now?

(06:16) (Check one)

1. ( ) all or almost all black families
2. ( ) mostly black families
3. ( ) about one-half black families
4. ( ) quite a few, but less than one-half black families
5. ( ) only a few black families
6. ( ) no black families I know of

5. How old were you when you first got to know any black kid(s) pretty well?

(06:17-18) (Please write in) ___________ years old.

6. How many students that you are friendly with now did you know before coming to high school?

(Please check one box on each side)

↓ ↓

(06:19-20)

black students	white students
1. ( ) none	1. ( ) none
2. ( ) 1 or 2	2. ( ) 1 or 2
3. ( ) 3 to 5	3. ( ) 3 to 5
4. ( ) 6 to 10	4. ( ) 6 to 10
5. ( ) 11 to 20	5. ( ) 11 to 20
6. ( ) more than 20	6. ( ) more than 20

7. Please list all the schools you have ever gone to, except the school you now attend. (Include both grade school(s) and high school(s)). Then show how many white students and how many black students were in your classes in each of these schools.

					Other Students in my classes were:					
					(Check one box in each row across)					
					1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
	Name of every other school you have attended	City	State	grades you were in (for example 1st to 8th grade)	All Whites (or no Blacks)	Mostly Whites, very few Blacks	Mostly Whites, quite a few Blacks	Mostly Blacks, quite a few Whites	Mostly Blacks, very few Whites	All Blacks
(06:21-28)					( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(06:29-36)					( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(06:37-44)					( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(06:45-52)					( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(06:53-60)					( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

8. This question has two parts (a. and b.) Please answer both.

a. For each place listed below, please show how many black people you have gotten to know there

(Check one box in each row)

b. For the same places, please show what kind of experiences (if any) you have usually had with black people there

(Check one box in each row)

		a. 1.	a. 2.	a. 3.	a. 4.	b. 1.	b. 2.	b. 3.	b. 4.	b. 0.
		none	one or two	some	many	very friendly	fairly friendly	not too friendly	unfriendly	question does not apply
(06:61-62)	At grade school	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(06:63-64)	At this high school	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(06:65-66)	At some other high school (answer only if you attended any)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(06:67-68)	In my neighborhood(s) before I came to high school	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(06:69-70)	In my neighborhood while I have been in high school	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(06:71-72)	At a job	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(06:73-74)	In a youth group like the Y or the Scouts	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:13-14)	In summer camp or other summer program with kids outside my neighborhood	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:15-16)	Other places (please tell where)									
	____________________	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
	____________________	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

9. In general, what was your opinion of most black people just before you came to this high school?

(Check one)

:17)
1. ( ) good
2. ( ) pretty good
3. ( ) not too good
4. ( ) not good at all
5. ( ) had no real opinion of them then

10. Since coming to this school, has your opinion of most black people gotten worse, gotten better, or stayed the same?

(Check one)

:18)
1. ( ) gotten much better
2. ( ) gotten a little better
3. ( ) stayed about the same
4. ( ) gotten a little worse
5. ( ) gotten a lot worse

11. How do the people you know seem to feel about black people?

(Check one box in each row across)

		1. like very few black people	2. like some, but not most black people	3. like most black people	4. like almost all black people	8. I don't know how they feel
:19)	Most white students I know at school	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
:20)	My family	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
:21)	The white students I'm most friendly with	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

12. As far as you know how many black students and how many white students are in each of the groups listed below?

(Check one box in each row across)

		1. all Whites (or none Black)	2. many more Whites than Blacks	3. slightly more Whites than Blacks	4. about half Whites and half Blacks	5. slightly more Blacks than Whites	6. many more Blacks than Whites	7. all Blacks
(07:22)	The whole student body at this school	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:23)	Students in advanced classes	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:24)	Cheerleaders and pep (yell) leaders	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:25)	Student hall monitors	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:26)	Members of school athletic teams	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:27)	Students in slow classes	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:28)	School and class officers	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:29)	Students who get very good grades	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:30)	Leaders of clubs and other activities	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:31)	Students who are in plays or auditorium programs	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

13. Listed below are a number of words that probably fit some people of every race. In your opinion, how many of the black students of your own sex in this school seem to fit each of the descriptions listed below?

(Check one in each row across)

		1. None	2. Only a few	3. Quite a few but less than half	4. About half	5. Most	6. All or almost all
(07:32)	are fun to be with	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:33)	are "two-faced" or insincere with white students	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:34)	are willing to help black students	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:35)	are willing to help white students	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:36)	are loud and noisy in school	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:37)	want to get good grades	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:38)	don't obey some school rules	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:39)	expect special privileges for themselves in school	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:40)	are friendly to white. students	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:41)	talk and act in a crude or coarse way	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:42)	act superior or "stuck up	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:43)	try real hard to do well in school	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

13. (Cont'd.)

How many black students of your own sex fit each of these descriptions?

(Check one in each row across)

		1. None	2. Only a few	3. Quite a few but less than half	4. About half	5. Most	6. All or almost all
(07:44)	are often mean to black students	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:45)	are often mean to white students	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:46)	have "a chip on their shoulders" (too sensitive)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:47)	would like to go to college	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:48)	act bossy with black students	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:49)	act bossy with white students	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:50)	try to please white students	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:51)	start fights with black students	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:52)	start fights with white students	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:53)	are smart in school	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:54)	are good fighters	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:55)	are from low income families	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:56)	are afraid of white students	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:57)	want to take part in school activities	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

14. Some schools seem to have a lot of problems between black and white students. In some other schools there isn't much trouble at all. In general, how would you describe race relations in this school this year?

	First Semester (Check one)	Second Semester (Check one)	
(07:58-59)	1. ( )	1. ( )	very bad
	2. ( )	2. ( )	more often bad than good
	3. ( )	3. ( )	more often good than bad
	4. ( )	4. ( )	very good

15. In how many of your classes this semester do you have a seat or work place right next to one or more black students?

(Check one)

(07:60) 1. ( ) no classes like this
2. ( ) one class
3. ( ) two classes
4. ( ) three classes
5. ( ) four classes
6. ( ) five or more classes

16. How about the other places listed below? Is your regular seat or place right next to any black student(s)?

(Check one box in each row across)

		1. Yes	2. No	3. No regular place	4. I don't have this
(07:61)	Home room	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:62)	Study hall	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:63)	Gym locker	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:64)	Hall locker	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:65)	Cafeteria	( )	( )	( )	( )

17. In general, how friendly were most of your contacts with black students in this school before this semester?

(Check one)

(07:66) 1. ( ) very friendly
2. ( ) pretty friendly
3. ( ) not especially friendly and not especially unfriendly
4. ( ) pretty unfriendly
5. ( ) very unfriendly
0. ( ) I didn't have contact with any black students

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18. Sometimes students find that they get along well with students of another race at certain times and places but not at others. For each of the places listed below, please show how friendly or unfriendly black students usually have been to you there this semester. (If you don't have much contact with Blacks in a particular place, just check the box that shows that.)

(Check one box in each row across)

		1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	0.
		All black students are friendly	Most are friendly		Most are unfriendly		All black students are unfriendly	Don't have much (or any) contact with black students there
			but a few are unfriendly	but many are unfriendly	but many are friendly	but a few are friendly		
(07:67)	In my homeroom	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:68)	In most of my classes	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:69)	Playing on school sports teams	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:70)	In clubs or other school groups	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:71)	In study halls	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:72)	In the cafeteria	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:73)	In hallways	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(07:74)	Coming to or from school	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(08:13)	Right outside the school buildings	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(08:14)	Away from school	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

19. Listed below are some ways in which students sometimes act toward one another. For each of these ways, please show how many times any black students have acted that way toward you this semester.

(Check one box in each row across)

		1. never	2. once or twice	3. 3-5 times	4. 6-10 times	5. 11-20 times	6. more than 20 times
(08:15)	Greeted you (saying hello) when you pass by	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(08:16)	Talked to you in a friendly way about things other than school work	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(08:17)	Talked to you in a friendly way about school work	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(08:18)	Walked with you in hallways	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(08:19)	Chose to sit with you rather than with someone else	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(08:20)	Did school work together with you	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(08:21)	Did things together with you outside of school	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(08:22)	Talked on the telephone with you	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(08:23)	Visited your home or had you over to their home	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(08:24)	Talked to you in an unfriendly way	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(08:25)	Tried to get you to change the way you talk or act	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(08:26)	Called you bad names	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(08:27)	Made fun of your ideas or things you do	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(08:28)	Tried to force you to give money	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(08:29)	Stole something from you (where you know who did it)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(08:30)	Purposely blocked you from walking by	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(08:31)	Threatened to hurt you in some way	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(08:32)	Tried to force their ideas on you	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

20. Thinking about the present semester, how many black students in this school have acted toward you in the following ways:

(Check one box in each row across)

		1. 0 black students	2. 1-2	3. 3-5	4. 6-10	5. 11-20	6. more than 20 black students
08:33)	Have talked to you in a friendly way	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
08:34)	Have done school work together with you	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
08:35)	Have done things outside of school with you	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
08:36)	Have talked to you in an unfriendly way	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
08:37)	Have pushed or hit you	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
08:38)	Are friends of yours	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
08:39)	Are persons that you really dislike	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

21. How often this semester has a black student at this school done something that has made you angry and how often has a white student done something that has made you angry?

(Check one box in each row across)

		1. almost every day	2. a few times a week	3. about once a week	4. once every few weeks	5. rarely	6. never
08:40)	Black student(s) do things that make me angry	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
08:41)	White student(s) do things that make me angry	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

22. Thinking about your relations with black students, how often during this semester has each of the following things happened?

(Check one box in each row across)

		1. more than 10 times this semester	2. 6 to 10 times this semester	3. 3 to 5 times this semester	4. once or twice	5. never this semester
(08:42)	I told black student(s) I disagreed with them about something	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(08:43)	I disagreed with something black student(s) said but I didn't tell them	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(08:44)	I tried hard to make friends with black student(s) but they did not want to be friends	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(08:45)	I tried hard to make friends with black student(s) and succeeded	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(08:46)	I dated black student(s)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(08:47)	I got into an argument with black student(s) only using words	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(08:48)	I was pushed or hit by black student(s) but decided not to push or hit back	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(08:49)	I was pushed or hit by black student(s) and pushed or hit back	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(08:50)	I got so mad at black student(s) that I hit or pushed that person first	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(08:51)	I was forced to give money to black student(s)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(08:52)	I tried to please black student(s) by talking or acting the way they like	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(08:53)	I had a friendly conversation with black student(s).	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

23. Some white students have had bad experiences with black students or have heard about other people who have had bad experiences. They may prefer not to have too much to do with black students if they can avoid it. How often during this semester have you tried to avoid being with black students in each of the ways listed below?

(Check one box in each row across)

		1. more than 10 times this semester	2. 6 to 10 times this semester	3. 3 to 5 times this semester	4. once or twice	5. never this semester
08:54)	Avoided sitting near some black students	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(08:55)	Didn't attend a school event because a lot of black students would attend it	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
08:56)	Avoided talking to some black students	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(08:57)	Decided not to join (or dropped out of) a club or activity because too many black students were in it	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(08:58)	Avoided walking near or standing near some black students	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(08:59)	Was asked to a party or activity outside school but didn't go because black kids were included	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(08:60)	Suggested or agreed with others that only white kids be invited to something	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

24. Listed below are a number of ways in which students may be able to affect what goes on at this school. For each of these, do you think that white students are more able to do this, black students are more able to do this, both are equally able to do this, or neither is able to do this very much?

(Check one box in each line across)

		1. black students more able to do this	2. white students more able to do this	3. both races equally able to do this	4. neither race able to do this very much
(08:61)	Get the principal to change something in the school	( )	( )	( )	( )
(08:62)	Get the school to sponsor things (like speakers, concerts, dances, etc.)	( )	( )	( )	( )
(08:63)	Get the Student Council to do things	( )	( )	( )	( )
(08:64)	Get students of other race to walk around them in hallways	( )	( )	( )	( )
(08:65)	Push students of the other race without the other race fighting back	( )	( )	( )	( )
(08:66)	Get teachers to do things in a different way	( )	( )	( )	( )
(08:67)	Get students they like elected	( )	( )	( )	( )

25. As far as you know, how many teachers, administrators, or security guards at this school show any favoritism toward either white students or black students?

(Check one box in each row on this side) ↓ (left side)

(Check one box in each row on this side) ↓ (right side)

		1. none that I know of favor Whites	2. one or two favor Whites	3. quite a few favor Whites	1. none that I know of favor Blacks	2. one or two favor Blacks	3. quite a few favor Blacks
(08:68-69)	White teachers	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(08:70-71)	Black teachers	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(08:72-73)	School administrators (principal, vice-principals and deans)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(09:13-14)	Security guards	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

26. Listed below are some things which students often want. For each of these, first show how important this is to you. Then tell us whether black students at this school usually make this thing harder to get, make it easier to get, or don't affect this.

(Check one of these three boxes in each row across)

(Check one of these 3 boxes in each row across)

		1. very important to me	2. fairly important to me	3. not too important to me	1. black students usually make this harder	2. black students usually make this easier	3. black students usually do not affect this
(09:15-16)	My getting good grades	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(09:17-18)	Getting changes in the school that I'd like to see	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(09:19-20)	Electing the school or class officers I'd like	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(09:21-22)	My getting a good education	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(09:23-24)	Having good school teams	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(09:25-26)	Having good school activities and entertainment	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(09:27-28)	My being able to go to college	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(09:29-30)	My getting on, or playing on, a school team	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(09:31-32)	Having the kind of cheerleaders I'd like	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(09:33-34)	Getting changes in the community that I'd like	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

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27. Now we'd like to ask about some things that people often think about. For each of the things listed below, please check the box which shows how often you think about this.

(Check one box for each line across)

		1. very often	2. fairly often	3. sometimes but not often	4. only once in awhile	5. never
(09:35)	How my family feels about things I say or do	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(09:36)	How my friends feel about things I say or do	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(09:37)	That some other black student(s) might hit or attack me	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(09:38)	That some white students might hit or attack me	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(09:39)	That some black student(s) try to act superior	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(09:40)	That some black students try to get their own way on things	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(09:41) — —	That some black students don't seem to want to be friendly	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(09:43)	Not getting into trouble with teachers, principals, or dean	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

28. Listed below are some people that you know. In your opinion, how does each of these groups feel about how friendly white students should act toward black students?

(Check one box in each row across)

		1. think Whites should act as friendly with Blacks as with Whites	2. think Whites should act friendly, but not too friendly with Blacks	3. think Whites should not have much to do with Blacks	4. don't care how friendly Whites are with Blacks	8. I don't know how they feel
09:44)	The white students I am most friendly with	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
09:45)	Most white students in this school	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
09:46)	Most black students I know	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
09:47)	Most black teachers I know	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
09:48)	Most white teachers I know	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
09:49)	My family	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
09:50)	The school administration (principal, vice-principals, deans, and so on)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
09:51)	I myself	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

29. Now, please read each of the statements listed below. Then tell us whether you agree or disagree with each statement by putting a check mark in one of the boxes.

(Check one box in each row across)

		1. Strongly Agree	2. Agree Somewhat	3. Disagree Somewhat	4. Strongly Disagree
(09:52)	White people shouldn't try to be friendly with black people until black people prove they want to be friendly with us	( )	( )	( )	( )
(09:53)	Integration is the best answer to America's racial problems	( )	( )	( )	( )
(09:54)	White people have given in too many times to the pressures put on them by black people	( )	( )	( )	( )
(09:55)	Compared to black people, white people have a better feeling for what is right and what is wrong	( )	( )	( )	( )
(09:56)	Black people are trying to get too much power these days	( )	( )	( )	( )
(09:57)	Anyone, whether black or white, can get ahead in this country if he tries hard enough	( )	( )	( )	( )
09:58)	Most white people are not willing enough to use force against Blacks when it is necessary	( )	( )	( )	( )
09:59)	Despite what some people say, things haven't gotten much better for black people in this country	( )	( )	( )	( )
09:60)	Blacks and Whites would be better off if they both stuck to their own kind	( )	( )	( )	( )
09:61)	I can't think of a situation where it would be right for Whites to use violence against Blacks	( )	( )	( )	( )
09:62)	After all they've suffered, black people have a right to make demands these days	( )	( )	( )	( )

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30. Now we would like to know something about white students in this high school. In your opinion, how many of the white students of your own sex in this school seem to fit each of the descriptions listed below?

(Check one box in each row across)

		1. None	2. Only a few	3. Quite a few, but less than half	4. About half	5. Most	6. All or almost all
(09:63)	are fun to be with	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(09:64)	are "two-faced" or insincere with black students	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(09:66)	are willing to help black students	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(09:67)	are willing to help white students	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(09:68)	are loud and noisy in school	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(09:69)	want to get good grades	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(09:70)	don't obey some school rules	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(09:71)	expect special privileges for themselves in school	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(09:72)	are friendly to black students	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(10:13)	talk and act in a crude or coarse way	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(10:14)	act superior or "stuck up"	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

30. (Cont'd.)

How many white students of your own sex fit each of these descriptions?

(Check one box in each row across)

		1. None	2. Only a few	3. Quite a few, but less than half	4. About half	5. Most	6. All or almost all
(10:15)	try real hard to do well in school	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(10:16)	are often mean to black students	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(10:17)	are often mean to white students	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(10:18)	have "a chip on their shoulders" (too sensitive)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(10:19)	would like to go to college	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(10:20)	act bossy with black students	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(10:21)	act bossy with white students	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(10:22)	try to please black students	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(10:23)	start fights with black students	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(10:24)	start fights with white students	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(10:25)	are smart in school	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(10:26)	are good fighters	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(10:27)	are from low income families	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(10:28)	are afraid of black students	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(10:29)	want to take part in school activities	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

31. Thinking about your relations with other white students in this school, about how often this semester has each of the following happened to you?

(Check one box in each row across)

		1. more than 10 times	2. 6 to 10 times	3. 3 to 5 times	4. once or twice	5. never this semester
(10:30)	I got into an argument with white student(s) using only words	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(10:31)	I was pushed or hit by white student(s) and pushed or hit back	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(10:32)	I got so mad at a white student that I pushed or hit that person first	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(10:33)	I was called a bad name by other white student(s)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(10:34)	I did school work together with other white student(s)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(10:35)	I had some other white student(s) over to my home or visited his (her) home	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

It will only take you a few more minutes to finish. In this last set of questions, we'd like to learn a little more about you and your family.

32. Are you:

(Check one)

0:36) 1. ( ) male
2. ( ) female

33. Please check your race

0:37) 1. ( ) Black
2. ( ) White
3. ( ) Oriental
4. ( ) other (please write in) ______________________

34. When were you born? First check which month. Then check the year you were born.

(10:38-39)			(10:40-41)		
		Month			Year
01.	( )	January	01.	( )	1948
02.	( )	February	02.	( )	1949
03.	( )	March	03.	( )	1950
04.	( )	April	04.	( )	1951
05.	( )	May	05.	( )	1952
06.	( )	June	06.	( )	1953
07.	( )	July	07.	( )	1954
08.	( )	August	08.	( )	1955
09.	( )	September	09.	( )	1956
10.	( )	October	10.	( )	1957
11.	( )	November	11.	( )	1958
12.	( )	December	12.	( )	1959

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35. How tall are you?

(10:42) Feet (circle one): 4 5 6 7

(10:43-44) Inches (circle one):

00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 11

36. About how much do you weigh?

(10:45-47) __________ pounds

37. How would you describe the way you wear your hair?
(Please check one thing in each box)

Check one here
(10:48)

1. ( ) short
2. ( ) medium
3. ( ) long

Check one here
(10:49)

1. ( ) straight
2. ( ) curly or wavy
3. ( ) Afro style

38. What kind(s) of music do you like best?

(Check up to three kinds)

(10:50-54) 1. ( ) country and western
2. ( ) rock or acid rock
3. ( ) soul
4. ( ) folk
5. ( ) mood music, slow songs
6. ( ) classical
7. ( ) other (please write in) ____________________

39. Now, please go back to question 38 and circle the one kind of music you usually like the best.

40. What is your religious preference?

(Check one)

10:55-56) 01. ( ) Baptist
02. ( ) Catholic
03. ( ) Congregational
04. ( ) Episcopal
05. ( ) Jewish
06. ( ) Lutheran
07. ( ) Methodist
08. ( ) Presbyterian
09. ( ) Other--What is that?

____

10. ( ) I don't have a religious preference (please to to question 42 on the next page)

41. Do you belong to a church?

(Check one)

10:57) 1. ( ) no (please go on to question 42 on next page)
2. ( ) yes

41a. How active are you in that church?

(Check one)

10:58) 1. ( ) not active at all
2. ( ) not too active
3. ( ) fairly active
4. ( ) quite active
5. ( ) very active

42. What people live with you? Please put a check next to the names of each of the people listed below who live with you. Then for each person you checked as living with you, please check the box which shows this person's education.

(Check one box in each row across)

		1.	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	8.
		Lives with me	Went to grade school but did not graduate	Finished 8th grade but did not go further	Went to high school but did not graduate	Finished high school but did not go further	Had some schooling after high school	Finished a four-year college or went beyond	I don't know
(10:59-60)	Real father	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(10:61-62)	Step father	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(10:63-64)	Foster father	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(10:65-66)	Real mother	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(10:67-68)	Step mother	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(10:69-70)	Foster mother	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(10:71-72)	Grand father	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(10:73-74)	Grand mother	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(10:75-76)	Uncle	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(11:13-14)	Aunt	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
	Other Adult(s) (write in)								
(11:15-16)	______	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(11:17-18)	______	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
(11:19)	I live in an orphanage or in some other institution	( ) -------> if you checked here, please go to question 46.							

43. Who usually helps to support you, either by working or by getting income from some other source (for example, from social security, retirement income, and so on)? Please put a check next to the names of each of these persons.

Then, if any of these people is working now or has worked in the past, please write in the kind of place this person usually works (or worked) at and what kind of work he usually does (or did).

1.

		Usually helps to support me (Check all that apply)	If any of the people you checked are working now (or have worked):	
			What kind of place does this person usually work at (for example, a factory, a school)?	What kind of work does (did) this person usually do?
(11:20-21)	Real father	( )		
(11:22-23)	Step father	( )		
(11:24-25)	Foster father	( )		
(11:26-27)	Real mother	( )		
(11:28-29)	Step mother	( )		
(11:30-31)	Foster mother	( )		
(11:32-33)	Grandfather	( )		
(11:34-35)	Grandmother	( )		
(11:36-37)	Aunt	( )		
(11:38-39)	Uncle	( )		
(11:40-41)	Other Adult(s): 1.	( )		
(11:42-43)	2.	( )		
(11:44-45)	3.	( )		

44. How many brothers, sisters or cousins live at home with you now? (Please do not count yourself)

Circle one number

(11:54-55) 00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 or more

45. About how many hours a week do you spend helping your family around the house?

(Check one)

(11:56)
1. ( ) less than 5 hours
2. ( ) 5 to 10 hours
3. ( ) 11 to 15 hours
4. ( ) 16 to 20 hours
5. ( ) more than 20 hours

46. Do you have a regular job away from home?

(Check one)

(11:57)
1. ( ) no
2. ( ) yes

→ 46a. On the average, how many hours a week do you work at this job?

(Check one)

(11:58)
1. ( ) less than 5 hours
2. ( ) 5 to 10 hours
3. ( ) 11 to 15 hours
4. ( ) 16 to 20 hours
5. ( ) over 20 hours

47. Please tell us how close you feel to each of the following people:

(Check one box in each row across)

		1. very close	2. fairly close	3. not too close	4. not close at all
(11:59)	The kids I have most contact with here at school	( )	( )	( )	( )
11:60)	The adults in my family	( )	( )	( )	( )

48. How often do any of the adults who live with you talk to you about each of the following things:

(Check one box in each row across)

		1. often	2. sometimes	3. once in a while	4. almost never
11:61)	Your homework	( )	( )	( )	( )
11:62)	Your friends	( )	( )	( )	( )
11:63)	Black kids	( )	( )	( )	( )
11:64)	Your grades in school	( )	( )	( )	( )
11:65)	Getting an education beyond high school	( )	( )	( )	( )
11:66)	The kind of work you might do after you finish your education	( )	( )	( )	( )

Thank you for taking the time to answer these questions. We hope you found most of them interesting.

Before you turn in your booklet, please go back and make sure you have answered all the questions. Also, if you have any other comments concerning the things we've asked about, please write your comments on this page.

APPENDIX B

MEASURES OF VARIABLES USED IN PREDICTION OF INTER-RACIAL INTERACTION OF INDIVIDUAL STUDENTS

APPENDIX B. MEASURES OF VARIABLES USED IN PREDICTION OF INTER-RACIAL INTERACTION OF INDIVIDUAL STUDENTS

	Questionnaire Items from Which Scores Are Derived* and Method of Combining Scores (Items Are Identified by the IBM Card and Column Numbers Which Appear in the Margin of the Questionnaires.)
A. Inter-racial Interaction	
1. Avoidance of other-race students	8:54 through 8:60 (sum) (High score means more avoidance)
2. Friendly interaction with other-race students	8:15 + 2(8:16 + 8:17) + 4(8:18 + 8:19) + 8(8:20 + 8:22) + 16(8:21 + 8:23) + 32(8:46) (High score means more friendly interaction)
3. Unfriendly actions toward other-race students	8:47 + 8:49 + 8:50 (High score means more unfriendly actions)
B. Student Characteristics, Home Background, and Position in School	
1. Opinion of other race prior to high school	7:17 (High score indicates positive opinion)
2. Satisfaction with one's life circumstances	2:49 through 2:57 (sum) (High score indicates high satisfaction)
3. Education of parents (or parent substitutes) living with student	10:59 through 11:18 (If two parents, education scores for two were averaged; if one parent, education score for that parent was taken; if no parent, education score for other adult(s) with whom child was living was taken; higher score means higher education.)
4. Unfriendly interaction with same-race students	10:30 through 10:33 (sum) (Higher score means more unfriendly contact)

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*Many scores have been recoded so that the meaning of high scores on an index cannot necessarily be inferred from the codes on the questionnaire.

(cont.) APPENDIX B. MEASURES OF VARIABLES USED IN PREDICTION OF INTER-RACIAL INTERACTION OF INDIVIDUAL STUDENTS

5. Sex	10:36 (1 is male; 2 is female)
6. Year in school	1:16 (Higher score indicates higher year)
7. Academic program	1:17 or 1:19 or 1:21 (depending on student's year in school)
8. Importance of academic achievement	9:15 + 9:21 + 9:27 (Higher score means high importance)
9. Conformity to conventional school norms	Number of 1 scores ("should do") in 4:70 + 4:71 + 4:73 + 5:15 + number of 3 scores ("should not do") in 4:72 + 5:13 + 5:14 (Higher score means greater conformity)
10. Educational aspirations	4:60 (responses 3 and 4 combined) (Higher score means higher aspirations)
11. Church activity	10:57 and 10:58 (Higher score means more activity)
12. Amount x nature of inter-racial contact outside of this high school	(6:61 x 6:62) + (6:65 x 6:66) + (6:67 x 6:68) + (6:69 x 6:70) + (6:71 x 6:72) + (6:73 x 6:74) + (7:13 x 7:14) + (7:15 x 7:16) (Higher score means more friendly interaction)
13. Family attitudes toward the other race	7:20 + 9:49 (Higher score means more positive attitude)
14. Amount of time to reach school	6:15 (Higher score means more time)
15. Segregation of neighborhood	6:16 (Higher score means more segregation)
16. Age at which got to know any other-race people	6:17-18 (Higher score means higher age)

(continued)

(cont.) APPENDIX B. MEASURES OF VARIABLES USED IN PREDICTION OF INTER-RACIAL INTERACTION OF INDIVIDUAL STUDENTS

17. Initial preference for going to another school	1:15 (Higher score means more preference for another school)
18. Racial ethnocentrism (Whites)	1.8(9:52) + 2.1(9:54) + 2.7(9:55) + 2.6(9:56) + 1.6(9:60) + 1.3(9:58)* (Higher score means more ethnocentrism)
19. Racial ethnocentrism (Blacks)	2.2(9:52) + 3.0(9:54) + 2.5(9:55) + 1.1(9:58) + 1.7(9:59) + 2.1(9:62)* (Higher scores mean more ethnocentrism)
20. Sympathy with black demands (Whites)	2.4(9:53) + 1.8(9:61) + 4.0(9:62) + 2.5(9:59)* (Higher score means more sympathy)
21. Reluctance to endorse power tactics by Blacks in society (Blacks)	1.8(9:53) + 1(9:56) + 2.5(9:57) + 2.8(9:61)* (Higher score means more reluctance)
C. Opportunity for, and Conditions of Contact with Other-Race Students	
1. Positive peer attitudes	7:19 + 7:21 + 9:44 + 9:45 (Higher score means more positive attitude)
2. Opportunity for in-class contact	7:60 (number of classes) + 7:61 (one class, if yes) (Higher score means more contact)
3. Opportunity for around-school contact	2(7:63) + (7:64) + 5(7:65) (Higher score means more contact)
4. Opportunity for contact with black faculty	2:28 + 2:29 (Higher score means more contact)

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*Weights for each item correspond to relative size of factor score coefficients in factor analysis. Items on white questionnaire are phrased from perspective of Whites.

(cont.) APPENDIX B. MEASURES OF VARIABLES USED IN PREDICTION OF INTER-RACIAL INTERACTION OF INDIVIDUAL STUDENTS

5. Total number of club memberships	2:58 through 3:59 Number of athletic teams of which ever a member + number of musical groups of which ever a member + number of publications of which ever a member + number of other school clubs, teams, activities or groups of which a member (Higher score means more clubs and activities)
6. Strictness of school	4:67 + 4:68 + 4:69 (Higher score means more strictness)
7. Amount of problem-solving activity in school	5:19 + 5:20 (Higher score means more activity)
8. Power of black students relative to white students	8:61 through 8:67 Number of 1 scores (Blacks more able) minus number of 2 scores (Whites more able) (Higher score means more relative power for Blacks)
9. Non-academic status of white students, relative to black students	6(7:22) - (7:24 + 7:25 + 7:26 + 7:28 + 7:30 + 7:31) (Higher score means higher relative status for Whites)
10. Proportion of own-race students from low-income families, relative to proportion of other-race students	10:27 - 7:55 (Higher score means own race has higher proportion of low-income persons)
11. Academic status of white students, relative to black students	(7:22 - 7:23) +(7:22 - 7:27) + (7:22 - 7:29) (Higher score means higher relative status for Whites)
12. Reaching own goals facilitated by other-race students	(9:15 x 9:16) + (9:17 x 9:18) + (9:19 x 9:20) + (9:21 x 9:22) + (9:23 x 9:24) + (9:25 x 9:26) + (9:27 x 9:28) + (9:29 x 9:30) + (9:31 x 9:32) + (9:33 x 9:34) (Higher score means more facilitation by other race)

(continued)

(cont.) APPENDIX B. MEASURES OF VARIABLES USED IN PREDICTION OF INTER-RACIAL INTERACTION OF INDIVIDUAL STUDENTS

13. Favoritism of school personnel toward white students	Items included in index are 8:68 + 8:70 + 8:72 + 9:13 Weights for items differ according to proportion of black teachers at each school and are as follows: white teachers, 10; black teachers, weight in proportion to percent of black teachers; administrators, one-fourth of sum of weights of black and white teachers; security guards, one-eighth of sum of weights of black and white teachers. (Higher score means more favoritism)
14. Favoritism of school personnel toward black students	8:69 + 8:71 + 8:73 + 9:14 Weights are same as for above index of favoritism toward white students (Higher score means more favoritism)
15. Norms of white teachers unfavorable to inter-racial contacts	9:48 (Higher score means less favorable to friendly contact)
16. Norms of black teachers unfavorable to inter-racial contacts	9:47 (Higher score means less favorable to friendly contact)
D. Perception of Other-Race Students and Relevant Emotions	
1. Good qualities of other-race students	(7:32 + 7:33 + 7:34 + 7:35 + 7:40 + 7:41 + 7:42 + 7:44 + 7:45 + 7:46 + 7:48 + 7:49 + 7:51 + 7:52) (More positive score means other-race students are seen as having better qualities)
2. Physical toughness of other-race students	(7:54 + 7:56) (More positive score means other-race students are seen as tougher)
3. Smartness of other-race students	7:53 (More positive score means other-race students are seen as smarter)

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(cont.) APPENDIX B. MEASURES OF VARIABLES USED IN PREDICTION OF INTER-RACIAL INTERACTION OF INDIVIDUAL STUDENTS

4. How hard other-race students try in school	7:43 (More positive score means other-race students are seen as trying harder)
5. Anger at other-race students	8:41 (black students); 8:40 (white students) (More positive score means greater anger at other race)
6. Fear of other-race students	9:38 (for black students) 9:37 (for white students) (Higher score means greater fear of other race)
7. Loyalty to school	5:26 + 5:27 + 5:28 + 5:29 + 5:30 (Higher score means greater loyalty)